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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Government
Publications

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

- (a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A
RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY
THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS
WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND
ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION,
OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE
PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

April 29, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

Volume 148

CANADIAN ARCTIC
GAS STUDY LTD.
MAY -7 1976
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APPEARANCES:

Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.,
Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,
Mr. Alick Ryder and
Mr. Ian Roland for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline
Inquiry;

Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,
Mr. Jack Marshall,
Mr. Darryl Carter and
Mr. J.T. Steeves for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline
Limited.

Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,
Mr. Alan Hollingworth and
Mr. John W. Lutes for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;

Mr. Russell Anthony,
Prof. Alastair Lucas and
Mr. Garth Evans for Canadian Arctic Resources
Committee;

Mr. Glen W. Bell and
Mr. Gerry Sutton for Northwest Territories
Indian Brotherhood, and
Metis Association of the
Northwest Territories;

Mr. John Bayly and
Miss Leslie Lane for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada,
and The Committee for
Original Peoples Entitle-
ment;

Mr. Ron Veale and
Mr. Allen Lueck for The Council for the Yukon
Indians;

Mr. Carson Templeton for Environment Protection
Board;

Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C. for Northwest Territories
Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Murray Sigler for The Association of Munici-
palities;

Mr. John Ballem, Q.C. for Producer Companies;

Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association
of the Northwest Territor
ies.

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Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
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Cross-Exam by Bayly
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

April 29, 1976.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
ladies and gentlemen.

MR. SCOTT: Now that the
interpreter has arrived, I think we're all ready to
begin, Mr. Commissioner. Mr. Bayly?

MR. BAYLY: I have a couple of
questions, Mr. Commissioner, which I'd like to address
to Phoebe Nahanni.

(LOUIS BLONDIN RESUMED AS INTERPRETER)

CHARLIE SNOWSHOE,
FREDDIE GREENLAND,
WILSON PELLISSEY,
MISS PHOEBE NAHANNI,
MISS BETTY MENICOCHÉ, resumed:

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

Q I wonder if you could
tell us, Phoebe, you stated in your paper that the
studies that you were involved in of hunting and
trapping in the Mackenzie area involved a 30% sample
of hunters and trappers. Can you tell me how you
arrived at the number of trappers and hunters there
were for each settlement to determine that you had a
30% sample?

WITNESS NAHANNI: The field
workers first of all made a list and they referred to
the band list as well, made a list of all the trappers
in the community, and from that they determined approxi-
mately one-third.

Q And were the field workers

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Bayly
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1
2 from the individual communities, or did they have to go
3 in and ask with the Band Council in each place who the
4 hunters and trappers were?

5 A Well, the list was drawn
6 up from talking with people and from the band list,
7 and they usually have to go to the chief or the
8 trappers because most trappers know each other anyway.

9 Q Yes, and did the study
10 account for people who had moved perhaps from Fort
11 Norman to Fort Franklin, or to other places?

12 A They were counted in the
13 community they were living in now, I mean were living
14 in right now. When they gave their information about
15 places they trapped, they would mention, like Wilson,
16 used to live in Fort Norman, you know, maybe about 22
17 years ago.

18 Q So there would be lines
19 put on the map, say for Wilson's travels in the area
20 of Fort Norman as well as Wrigley?

21 A Yes.

22 MR. BAYLY: Those are all the
23 questions I have, thank you.

24 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Hollingworth?

25
26 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. HOLLINGWORTH:

27 Q Just if I could get this
28 straight, Miss Nahanni. Your field workers went into
29 the communities and selected -- or didn't select, they
30 got a list of trappers from talking to the Band

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1
2 Council and from talking to various people in the
3 communities, because each of these people knows others
4 who trap, and from that you got a ^{total} list of trappers
5 right down the Mackenzie Valley.

6 A The field workers also
7 used -- referred to the band list to get the total
8 number of trappers.

9 Q Well, when they looked
10 at the band list, is there an indication that a parti-
11 cular person on it is a trapper, or did they assume
12 that a male over 30 was a trapper? How did they use
13 that?

14 A There was no assumption
15 because the field workers know the people who trap, and
16 if they didn't they usually asked a trapper who has
17 been trapping for a long time, who also knows other
18 trappers, and that's how they verified the list.

19 Q From looking down the
20 list they'd know everyone they saw and know that they
21 were a trapper, and if they didn't they'd check with
22 somebody else.

23 A Yes.

24 Q All right; and now I
25 understand that you're not going to be -- you're going
26 to be filing this map but it's not considered complete
27 and that you want to do a final check in the communities
28 and then file a completed map at a later date.

29 A There are some that have
30 been verified so far, but the map on the wall is an

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1
2 indication only of the extent of land use.

3 Q And you've got a report
4 that you're going to file at a later date as well?

5 A That's true.

6 Q Can you give us any
7 indication of when this is going to be?

8 A Possibly by the end of
9 May, but I don't think for certain until the end of
10 June.

11 Q So optimistically the
12 end of May, but more likely the end of June?

13 A Yes.

14 MR. HOLLINGWORTH:

And I presume, Mr. Bell,
15 that if something arose out of that report we could
16 count on you to bring Miss Nahanni back in case there
17 were some cross-examination arising from that?

18 MR. BELL: Yes, certainly.

19 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: And other
20 members of the panel if the participants wanted.

21 MR. BELL: If we can find them,
22 yes.

23 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Subject to
24 that, too.

25 Q Now, of the total number
26 that you arrived at of trappers from this list you
27 compiled, how did you select the one-third that you
28 surveyed more thoroughly?

29 A You mean how we selected
30 the people on the sample?

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

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Q Yes.

A The selection was usually done by the -- in consultation with the chief and the Metis locals and the community leaders, and we mentioned to them that the best sample from our view would be a person who was over 30, but it was up to them to draw up a list and then again there was the other thing about trappers being available. Who was available when, and that was taken into consideration when the list was made up. It really wasn't a list that was made, like, they didn't look at the total list and say, "Well, these are the people we're going to talk to," and then they followed it up, because it was impossible sometimes to reach some people, so it took quite a few months to finish the quota.

1 Q So you just went along and
2 sought to speak to the people who were available and
3 once you got about a third of the people on the list
4 in any given community you felt you'd concluded your
5 work there, is that it?

6 A Not necessarily because
7 people wanted the field workers in many cases felt that
8 they were going to talk to as many as possible and if
9 they could get a third sample that would be really good.
10 But they attempted to get more than a third.

11 Q But you felt you couldn't
12 speak to all of them because of the time constraint that
13 was put on you by the terms of reference of your study
14 and financing of it, as I understand your evidence.

15 A That's correct.

16 Q These people were all men?
17 There are no females?

18 A Well, there are women who
19 trapped with their husbands or else their brothers who've
20 also been interviewed.

21 Q And they were part of the
22 survey?

23 A That's correct.

24 Q So the figure of 1,075
25 that you give later on in your testimony includes actually
26 some women does it?

27 A Oh yes.

28 Q Do you know how many women?

29 A I didn't make that
distinction.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q So you'd be unable to
2 go back to your records and let us know?

3 A I could do that.

4 Q Would you please and let
5 us have the answers through Mr. Bell?

6 A Could you ask me why?
7 I mean, could you tell me why?

8 Q Who's being cross-examined here?

9 (LAUGHTER)

No, I'm just interested.

10 You've taken -- you've disputed the figures that are
11 given in, among other things, the Foothills application
12 and the figures ^{that} are given there and I think that part of
13 the distinction might be -- there's a different definition
14 of exactly what's involved and I'd just like to know
15 precisely what your definition is of these trappers and
16 exactly how much time they spent on it and ^{who} they are and
17 then we can compare it against ours. Maybe we're not
18 as far apart as you say in your testimony.

19 All right? Is that all right?
20 Is that a good enough answer?

21 THE COMMISSIONER: You wanted
22 to find out a little more about precisely what Mr.
23 Hollingworth wanted. Do you want to carry on?

24 A You wanted a list of
25 women and men --

26 MR. HOLLINGWORTH:

27 Q Not necessarily a list,
28 Miss Nahanni. I'd just like a breakdown of your total
29 figure of 1,075 as to how many females and how many
30 males. All right?

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

A O.K.

Q Now, I think in one of your
earlier ^{answers} / , you said that you tried to get people
that were over 30 years of age, but did I understand you
to say that wasn't necessarily always case, that some
of these people surveyed were under 30?

A Yes.

Q Do you know approximately
how many? I won't ask you to go and look at that?
Could you give us an approximation?

A Of people under 30?

Q Yes, of your total.

A Of the total?

Q Yes.

A The total list of 1,075
includes the trappers who are under 30.

Q Who -- I'm sorry?

A Who are also under 30.

Q Yes.

A The 1,075.

Q Have you any idea how
many of those people would be under 30?

A I couldn't tell you right
off.

Q No rough approximation at
all?

A No, but in my report,
I mentioned that from our study -- our one-third sample,
that we interviewed 26 male men under 30.

Q They're at least are part --

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 well, they're part of the -- I think it's 396 people
2 you've interviewed?

3 A That's correct.

4 Q And they are part of that
5 figure?

6 A Yes.

7 Q All right and you extra-
8 polate that 26 up to get your part of your 1,075?

9 A Pardon?

10 Q O.K., well let me come
11 back to that in a moment if I can. Now do you know
12 what the total male population -- well, do you know
13 what the total population of Dene over 30 years of age
14 is in the district you surveyed?

15 A No.

16 Q So you don't know what
17 proportion that the trappers formed of the total
18 population?

19 A In regards to age I don't.

20 Q I'm sorry, I have difficulty
21 hearing you.

22 A If you're talking about
23 the age of the trappers that we've interviewed, I don't
24 necessarily know.

25 Q Well, let's put aside
26 their age for the moment, do you know what proportion
27 of the adult population that trappers form?

28 A Could you repeat that
29 question again?

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q O.K. Of the total Dene
2 population in the Mackenzie -- adult population -- do
3 you know what proportion of those would be trappers?

4 A I'll have to look it up.

5 Q Could you look it up and
6 let me know too? Why did you decide you'd like people
7 over 30?

8 A Like I said, we felt that
9 people over 30 have considerable experience on the
10 land, hunting and trapping, and we talked it over with
11 the community leaders and they felt the same way but
12 we left it up to them to make up the list of people who
13 were going to be interviewed.

14 Q So it's certainly better
15 from an historical point of view to have people who had
16 more years of experience?

17 A What do you mean by
18 "historical"?

19 Q Well, I mean if you have
20 people who are older and they've ^{been} further afield and
21 you can demonstrate land use over a fairly great area, and
22 this is quite legitimate, but ^{someone} / obviously if you have
23 older, they've ^{been} over a wider area in their
24 trapping experience.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A If someone was older and
2 had quite a bit of experience on the land, yes.

3 Q All right. Now, do you
4 have any figures to show the proportions -- now, let me
5 rephrase that. I've asked you if you can check the
6 proportion of trappers to the total population. Now
7 can you further break that down to those over 30 and
8 those under 30?

9 A Yes.

10 Q And just so I'm clear,
11 the paths on the map show any routes, trapping routes
12 and areas used for trapping over the lifetime of the
13 people surveyed; is that correct?

14 A Yes.

15 Q It doesn't go into the
16 use -- sorry?

17 A To the present.

18 Q Yes, it doesn't go into the
19 use made by their ancestors?

20 A No. Can I add that --

21 Q Surely.

22 A -- in most Dene communi-
23 ties, except for the larger places like Yellowknife,
24 that the majority of the people live off the land,
25 even if they're living in communities, they hunt and
26 trap.

27 Q Yes, but I think my
28 question that I've asked you to go and check on was
29 restricted to trapping.

30 A Just trapping?

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
CrossExam by Hollingworth

1
2 Q Yes. I guess it follows
3 from this map that you don't have a breakdown of those
4 that were used, say, in the last year or the last
5 five years?

6 A From the map?

7 Q Yes.

8 A That includes the last
9 five years.

10 Q I know it does, but you
11 don't have a separate survey showing what's been used
12 in the last five years.

13 A No.

14 Q Now when you say that
15 there are 1,075 -- and I think on page 18 you said "men"
16 engaged in hunting and trapping, you now say that that
17 includes some women, is that right?

18 A Yes.

19 Q That's right at the
20 bottom of the page 18. If I could just go through that
21 phrase, you said,

22 "1,075 men,"

23 and I guess I should say,

24 "and women, actively engage..."

25 What's "actively engage"? What's your definition there?

26 A To us hunting and trapping
27 is a way of life and it's because -- and because it's
28 part of our way of life it's done depending on the
29 seasons, depending on the animals and depending on a
30 lot of situations; and whether a person stops hunting

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 and trapping for a while does not make him necessarily
2 inactive, because he still has the rivers and the
3 lakes to fish from.

4 Q M-hm.

5 A , And he still continues
6 the way of life. It's all sort of together, it's all
7 relative, so "actively engaged in hunting and trapping"
8 means that even though they are not in the bush maybe
9 for one winter, in the spring they go back in the
10 bush for spring hunt. They are actively involved in
11 living off the land, in one way or another.

12 Q But not necessarily
13 completely dependent on the land for their livelihood
14 or their food, or both. You might deal with somebody
15 who goes out and traps for say one month a year and
16 does a little hunting as well, but he doesn't make
17 his entire living and he doesn't solely depend on the
18 land for his livelihood, does he?

19 A Well, in a way he does
20 and in a way he doesn't, because he might have
21 relatives who go out to hunt for a moose or caribou
22 and brings it back and then he gets some of the meat
23 of the moose, so he's involved in that whole process.

24 Q Well, O.K., he certainly
25 shares the benefits of his relatives or friends. Is
26 that what you mean? He shares the benefits of his
27 relatives or friends.

28 A Yes, there's a lot of
29 sharing going on.

30 Q M-hm, but you say -- I'm

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 just having a little difficulty with the term "actively
2 engaged", and do you mean anybody who's gone out and
3 hunted and trapped, or does so at any time is con-
4 sidered as actively engaged? I'm not quarrelling if
5 you say that, I just wanted to know what your
6 definition is.

7 A Well, I'm trying to
8 explain it.

9 Q Well, O.K.

10 A "Actively engaged in
11 hunting and trapping" is like I said, it depends on
12 the season, it depends on the animals, and it depends
13 on other circumstances. A person can go trapping in the
14 winter say from October to Christmas time, and not go
15 out again till springtime, and then goes to his fish
16 camp in the summertime, and right until the fall to
17 prepare for the winter, come back to town for a while,
18 then go back in the bush again. So he depends more
19 on the land and on the game than he does on the store-
20 bought or community living.

21 Q Right, O.K., but you do
22 have this figure of 1,075. Let's for instance, take
23 an older person who is going out less, but he goes out
24 for a week to hunt caribou and comes back, and that's
25 all he does for several years. Is he considered as
26 actively engaged in hunting for the purposes of your
27 survey?

28 A Well, there's a lot of
29 older men who, because they can't travel that far any
30 more, they still have snares, they set snares for rabbits

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

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Q M-hm.

A So they have a route
that they -- several routes that they go and visit
every day.

Q And they'd be counted in
your --

A That's part of living
off the land.

Q So they'd be counted in
your figure.

A Yes.

Q Because they're certainly
actively engaged.

A Yes.

Q Maybe there's no such
person as the example I've raised, but supposing there
was an older gentleman who did nothing but a couple
of weeks a year or a week a year he went out and
hunted caribou. Would he be counted in your survey?

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A I don't know. Can you
2 repeat what that -- what you said?

3 Q Well, let's say he's
4 getting on and he doesn't like going out as much as he
5 used to and he just goes out for a week or two every
6 year to hunt caribou and he comes back. Otherwise,
7 he's in the village. Now, would he be counted as an
8 active hunter for the purposes of your survey?

9 A Yes.

10 Q O.K.

11 A Not only because -- well,
12 there's a lot of reasons for including him in the
13 survey. It's because our way of life is not, you know
14 you don't stop it when you stop hunting and trapping.

15 Q Well, I think you've got
16 living proof sitting next to you, that Mr. Pellissey is
17 still very active at an age when a lot of people in
18 the south would have packed it in. But, sorry, I
19 interrupted you. Did you have anything more to say?

20 A Because of their wealth
21 of information about the land and about the animals,
22 that they are still actively involved in passing on
23 this information to other trappers and their children.

24 Q Even though they don't
25 go out on the land?

26 A Well, not to the extent
27 that they used to.

28 Q Now, are there some people
29 that go hunting but don't trap?

30 A Some years.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

Q O.K., but over a period
of five years, would there be any such people or would
it be a negligible figure?

A I'm not sure. I think
Charlie or Freddy would be able answer that.

Q Would you help me there? Would
there be any people who just hunted but didn't trap?

WITNESS GREENLAND: Well for
the delta area the hunters and trappers who are there
they're continuously hunting and trapping down there.

Q So they'd be doing both?

A Yes.

Q So the converse I guess
is true then. Anyone who traps is going to hunt as well?

A Yes.

Q There aren't going to
people who only trap and don't hunt?

A No.

Q Because you take your
rifle along when you go trapping?

A That's right.

Q O.K. Excuse me. Could
I get you turn to page 24 of your evidence Miss Nahanni?
On that page, you quote from the Foothills application
in a critical manner, because you say that it's an
indication that hunting and trapping is carried on for
sport. I'd just like to put this to you. You say that
that's your interpretation of Foothills application. I
just wonder if it isn't open to this interpretation,
that we're not talking about full-time trapping and

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 hunting but a part-time avocation rather than a vocation
2 which provides goods that can be kept or consumed or
3 sold, but also serving as a means of relaxation for
4 some one who's normally carrying on some other occupation.
5 Isn't that passage from the Foothills application open
6 to that interpretation?

7 WITNESS NAHANNI: What do
8 you mean by "avocation"?

9 Q Wella "vocation" is
10 something that you carry on as your main means of
11 livelihood or support or occupation, and "avocation"
12 is a secondary thing done often for relaxation, sometimes
13 for livelihood, sometimes for both.

14 A We don't see it that way.

15 Q Well, I know you don't
16 see it that way, but would you not agree with me that
17 it's open to that interpretation?

18 A The perception the way
19 you describe -- your perception is different.

20 Q Can you expand on that
21 answer?

22 A As clear as I can put it.
23 Hunting and trapping and living off the land is our
24 way of life. We look at it in a different way than
25 the sports hunter or a white man who lives up here to
26 go sports hunting for relaxation.

27 Q Yes, I see that.

28 A We do not get involved
29 in the wage earning economy because we want to. It is
30 because we have very little choice and when we work we

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 consider^{it} as part-time only to go back and live the way
2 we understand, the way we feel comfortable. When a
3 white hunter goes in the bush, there is a lot of in-
4 stances, I am sure you've heard of them at community
5 hearings where very little respect was shown for traplines.
6 Little respect was shown for certain animals and game.
7 We really think it's a bad thing because our perception
8 of animals is different from yours in that we believe
9 that the animals have a spirit.

10 So, we don't consider wage
11 earning a vocation.

12 Q O.K. and you feel you're
13 speaking for all Dene when you say that?

14 A Most.

15 Q Now on page 22, at the
16 bottom, you say:

17 "Furthermore, a proper level of support to the
18 trapping industry would undoubtedly result in
19 more young people planning a future in that area."
20 Can you expand upon that what you mean by that statement?

21 A As far as I know, all
22 from the use that I have observed, the way our
23 people have been treated, it is as though we didn't
24 know how to support ourselves and as though we didn't
have a system of our own. The reason why I'm saying this
is because there has been no financial or moral support
to our way of life like other areas.

The incentive grants that the
Territorial Government provided two or three years ago
was dependent on the amount of income that a trapper

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 could get from his furs and I think it would be something
4 like \$400. A lot of hunters and trappers don't really
3 make that much. In fact, they make less than that a
4 year. So, it's not really an incentive and besides,
5 a lot of hunters and trappers know that they can never
6 really make a profit as a trapper. They didn't start
7 hunting and trapping for profit anyways. A lot of them
8 didn't.

9 Q Yes.

10 A So, the -- because the
11 present government policy seems to be pushing us into
12 a wage earning economy against our choice, it does not
13 involve our values or our way of life. It doesn't
14 make room for that. We feel as though we're being
15 eliminated somehow; our way of life and our outlook and
16 everything is undermined.

17 The trapping industry is only
18 part of this. A lot of young people have expressed from
19 their personal experience when they go back to school
20 and say ^{they} want to go back in the bush soon, but they can't
21 do it because there are other pressures placed on them.
22 If, in the present system there was more ^{support} morally and
23 financially for our people, especially the young people
24 who express an interest, if there was an option for them
25 to trap -- to hunt and trap part of the year or maybe
26 all of year, then a lot of them would be making plans
27 for their own future.

28
29

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

Q Well, do I understand
you then to sort of look to financial support from
the government, I take it is where it would come from?

A The financial support
comes from the government, did you say?

Q Did I understand you
to say that you would look for financial support from
the government? Where would the financial support
come from?

A The financial support is,
as far as I can see, would have to come from the
government because they do make a lot of money off
our land.

Q And it would be sort of
a grant then in order to allow people to carry on hunt-
ing and trapping as they have before.

A It would be our right to
have it.

Q That's what I mean, it's
not a loan or something like that. You feel entitled
to that money and you feel you ought to get that from
the government every year so you can carry on your
traditional pursuits.

A Yes.

Q On Page 24 --

MR. BELL: I think Mr. Snowshoe
would like to add something.

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Oh, I'm
sorry. Surely.

WITNESS SNOWSHOE: Talking

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1
2 about trappers and the way they are standing today,
3 now it's not like it used to be. Since the time I
4 started travelling and trapping in the '50s and in the
5 '60s, sometime in the middle of the '60s we used to
6 have a lot of camps from stores and where we get outfit,
7 you know. We take and ^{we} call it debt and they outfit us
8 and that way the people used to get around. There used
9 to be traders in the delta and in the community. Right
10 in Fort McPherson, that's the way we were doing it and
11 that's where the trappers used to get along, they'd
12 get an outfit from the stores and they charge it up,
13 you know, and they're depending on the land to pay
14 that back from fur-bearing animals and the time come to
15 start when the first are going down, O.K., the person
16 who put a stop to that is the Bay. The Hudson's Bay
17 is the one who put a stop to it, no more charging.
18 There's a lot of times like we had no choice, we
19 had to live ourself in a way and this is where we get
20 a part-time job. Now , seeing that the fur is going
21 back up, like in Fort McPherson we got a co-op store
22 going and we got the privilege of getting the outfit
23 we want at any time now, and we've got more better
24 standing of going out in the bush. So this is one way
25 of thinking, people is looking to and thinking about
26 it and see what kind of fight we had to do to go back
27 into our way of living out on the land. We had to do a
28 lot of sort of fighting for ourself to get back to our
29 living. A lot of people had to help, do a part-time
30 job and working on seismic line and things like that,

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Monticoco, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 just to keep agoing. In the same way we had a financial
2 problem, it's not like it used to be. It used to be
3 we'd just walk in a store and go up to the manager and
4 say, "I want to charge some stuff, I want to go trapping,
5 I want to charge some stuff, go fishing."

6 And remember that was the
7 time in school days my dad and his brother used to just
8 get an outfit right now and they had to go about over
9 200 miles to their trapline. No hesitation, nothing.
10 They just say, "O.K., go ahead, get what you want."

11 If we had the privilege of
12 anything we got in the last few years, the people would
13 have been -- more and more people going out; and to have
14 money like that we in the last few years didn't have
15 the privilege. We had to do our part-time job. Now I
16 guess the fur price is going up, the fur price is up
17 pretty good now and oh boy, the Bay is right there,
18 "Sure, go ahead and charge."

19 Q So what you used to do
20 in the old days is to get a stake from the Bay manager
21 or the trader and he'd lend you the money to buy the
22 goods that you needed to go out trapping, and presumably
23 you came back with the furs and paid him off with
24 those.

25 A Yes, m-hm.

26 Q But Miss Nahanni was
27 talking about something different, as I understand.
28 She was talking about the government just giving an
29 outright grant that wasn't going to be repaid.

30 A The government is -- the

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 trappers are worried. They're not worried but I mean
2 they're looking into this all the time. Trappers
3 Association, we've got a Trappers Association in
4 every community, I think, and they're looking into this
5 as we, like I said before this co-op store I'm talking
6 about got started a couple of years ago, and now -- and
7 before that the government is giving out sort of a
8 loan to the trappers and with that loan, well, it shows
9 that the people are interested in going out back on the
10 land, and I understand, according to what I hear now,
11 that next fall it's just what I heard, I didn't approach
12 the Game Warden but like I said I had short notice of
13 coming over here, anyway I understand there's 16
14 families are interested in going out and back onto the
15 land, with the help from the government, a grant from
16 the government, this is a loan, this, and that shows
17 that they're interested in going back to the land.

18 Q How much does it cost --

19 A With the backing up from
20 somebody, you know.

21 Q Are you finished Sir?

22 How much does it cost to outfit yourself for trapping?

23 A Today?

24 Q Yes, if you started
25 from scratch today.

26 A Today?

27 Q Yes.

28 A You're asking me that
29 question?

30 Q Yes.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth.

1 A I know you'd like an
2 answer. It hurts. Some of the guys that's going to
3 start it, you know, from scratch, but don't say people
4 haven't got nothing, they're not starting up from scratch.

5 Q I just asked --

6 A I suppose you mean that
7 question you asked me, supposing if it did --

8 Q Yes.

9 A -- then we'd go into a,
10 like when we used to outfit ourself we go in thousands,
11 maybe not -- person had to go and get his own outfit ,
12 now today, and I know hunting canoe alone is \$250 right
13 at Fort McPherson. Used to be something like, of
14 course in the old times, like 80 or \$90 maybe, \$265.
15 But the rat price now is up pretty good, maybe you
16 get some rats and pay for that canoe. We look at it
17 that way, you know, and like Phoebe was saying we're
18 not in there to make a profit. We're in there to make
19 a living, to live off the land. We're not worried about
20 no profit, and you can see for yourself an active
21 trapper whom you just mentioned, saying that he was
22 active and is living off the land, you've got witnesses
23 over there, you see them sitting over there, and the
24 people that used to live off the land were in good shape
25 and like I said yesterday, I said I went in an office
26 and worked in an office for a while and you should see
27 me right now, I don't look very active. But I know
28 I'm going to go back and right now I'm worried, like
29 I said yesterday I'm worried now, I got to get back
30 home. Maybe I'm going to have to charter a plane and
 charge it up to Gas Arctic or Foothills.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

Q O.K., one more question

Miss Nahanni. On page 24, near the bottom you say:

"As some of our other evidence will show, when you remove the influence of bureaucratic and mining industry incomes, land-based activity of the Dene assumes the major proportion of Dene income."

What do you mean "removing the influence of bureaucratic and mining industry incomes"?

WITNESS NAHANNI: It means that if, in Yellowknife, the government left and the mining industry stopped, it wouldn't really affect us that much. We'd continue our way of life.

Q But you're not saying that Dene people now get more money or more anything from bureaucratic and mining industries than they do from land-based activities surely?

A Dene people are getting more money from the government and industries, is that what you're asking?

Q Well, that's what I interpreted from that statement and I just wonder if that's what you meant?

A As compared to the money we get from trapping --

Q Right.

A Yes, there is.

Q There is more money?

A More money.

Q O.K. Those are all my questions.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

A Depending on position,
of course.

Q Depending on what?

A Depending on the position
of the person.

Q Yes.

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.

Could -- that interested me too, Miss Nahanni. It's
my impression that there are very, very few Dene
employed in the mining industry in the Northwest Territor-
ies. Now there are, I understand what income to Dene
people from working in a mine would be, but what's the
bureaucratic income? Are you talking about the money
that Dene who work for the government receive as
salary or are you talking about the money that goes to
pay for all the government people, mostly white, in the
Northwest Territories.

That particular passage is
a little hard to follow.

A I think that's a loaded
one because O.K., on the one hand the bureaucrats who
supposedly look after our affairs are making money for
doing that, looking after our affairs and we are the
problem as it were.

Q Yes, I understand your
point.

A On the other hand, there
are people in -- who live, say in Yellowknife who get
a lot of welfare and if that is removed, if in the event
that the bureaucratic structure and all the people working

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 for the bureaucracy had gone, the influence of the
2 bureaucracy and the industries has an effect on our
3 way of life in that it confuses a lot of our people
4 and without these two influences, the Dene communities
5 can stabilize itself sort of.' It's upside down now
6 and it can sort of turn right side up again. So that
7 the welfare situation would -- people who are receiving
8 welfare now in Yellowknife would be fairly well taken
9 care of by our relatives the way that the other communi-
10 ties are doing.

11 Q Right.

12 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Those are
13 all my questions thank you.

14 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Steeves?

THE COMMISSIONER: Just before
15 you start Mr. Steeves one thing that if you look at
16 the top of page 23, Miss Nahanni in the presentation
17 that she's made on behalf of the panel discusses the
18 -- this is the reference to the survey carried out by
19 Arctic Gas. Miss Nahanni has challenged the survey
20 made in 1972 that said only 96 persons out of a population
21 of 23,600 were engaged in full-time and regular part-
22 time trapping.

Now, you might tell me Mr.

23 Steeves and Mr. Hollingworth -- not now but when you've
24 had an opportunity to determine whether this is so --
25 whether all the subsequent figures; the Van Ginkel
26 figures, the Foothills figures and so forth, all go
27 back to the 1972 survey which I gather was made by Gemini
28 North. I may be wrong about that but just looking at
29 all of this -- in other words, all of them -- I'm not

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Pellissey, Nahanni

Cross-Exam by Steeves

saying this

critically but we come back to this that all of the material filed by Arctic Gas and Foothills goes back to the survey made by Gemini North in '72. If it does, well, it makes it simpler for us to know -- But that's all I'm getting at and you may not--

MR. STEEVES: I think I understand your question sir and I would like to deal with it after discussion.

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Would you like that answer here in socio-economic evidence given by the applicants or would you like it sooner?

THE COMMISSIONER: Well it might be helpful if it's sooner because I may say, just so that you know the impression I received in the communities, was that for the most part, they took violent exception to the Gemini North study and if you look at the transcripts, you'll see that that is the reaction to a great deal that was said in that study.

I should tell you that that was the four volume study that was filed very early on, long before the hearings began, and since I had a lot of time in those days, I read the four volumes.

Well, at any rate, you might when you have a chance just let me know whether we're looking at one set of figures. This happens. One set of figures keeps getting reproduced and becomes Holy Writ after awhile.

All right. Mr. Steeves, you're next, I think.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. STEEVES:

April 29, 1976
Vol. 148

22568

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q Miss Nahanni, I was
2 interested in your discussion about the incentive
3 program and are you referring there to a program by
4 the government which was instituted after a drastic
5 fall in fur prices, whereby an attempt was made to
6 supplement the income of people from your settlements
7 who were trapping but could no longer sustain themselves
8 as a result of the loss in income? Is that what you
9 mean by the incentive program?

10 A The incentive program
11 had to do with low fur prices.

12 Q Yes, and it was an attempt
13 by the government to supplement what your people, that
14 were trapping, were able to earn so that they could
15 stay with the old way of life, that is, living in
16 the bush and trapping. Was it not?

17 A The incentive program
18 was not necessarily well known sort of, and I know that
19 a lot of trappers who could have gotten this money
20 didn't really get it.

21 Q I see. Was it a good
22 idea, in its time in your opinion?

23 A In a way, it's --

24 Q Could it have, if it had
25 worked well and I don't know whether it did or not,
26 could it have helped your people in what they want to do?

27 A I would have -- I would
28 regard it as very little. I mean there just wasn't
29 much support. There wasn't much.

Q That's right. Do you mean

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 very little in terms of the money that's given out to
2 mining companies and the money that's taken out of
3 this country by --

4 A No, in comparison to how
5 we could really get involved in setting up our own
6 program and involving more of our people into a more
7 active program including our way of life into this
8 program, then it would have been a lot better.

9 Q That's what I'm interested
10 in. Can you tell me how that incentive program could
11 have been made to work well. Not work well from my
12 way of looking at it, from -- the way your people
13 look at it?

14 A How we could have?

15 Q What could have been done
16 with it? It was a good idea basically, was it?

17 A It was O.K.

18 Q O.K., but it didn't work
19 well, is that what you're saying?

20 A It isn't working well.

21 Q All right. Well, what
22 changes could be done? How should it work in order
23 that it would work? How should it be done so that it
24 will work well?

25 A I think that it would
26 be very useful for the Dene --

27 Q Yes.

28 A -- to look at this program
29 and talk it over and make the necessary changes, or
additions to this program.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

Q What additions or changes
do you think should be made? Can you talk about that?
I'd be very interested.

A I think that would mean
that a lot of other things would change too because
we would like not only certain programs to change
but other programs to change because like I said in
my report, that not all of us are going to hunt and trap
off the land, but there is different aspects of our
way of life that could be included in the way we live
now and --

Q What -- I'm sorry, I
beg your pardon.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 A So if we were to evaluate
2 this program it would involve -- it would have to
3 involve a lot of our people at all levels, and it
4 would also involve not only discussions but it would
5 involve travelling. It would involve consulting one
6 community with another community, and it would be part
7 of a total sort of part of what we'd like to see for
8 ourselves. It would be a very small contribution, in
9 fact.

10 Q You mentioned, as I
11 understood you to say, not all of your people want
12 to go back to living off the land. Some would like
13 to. Am I correct in that?

14 A Many would like to.

15 Q Many would like to, and
16 you believe that help could be given or programs could
17 be developed which would assist those many of your
18 people that want to go back trapping and living off the
19 land. Is that correct?

20 A Yes.

21 Q And only one small part
22 of it, I guess, is something like this incentive
23 program that you think, as I understand you, would
24 form a basis for part of the things that have to be
25 done in order to do that. Am I right?

26 A Can you repeat that
27 question?

28 Q Yes, I'm sorry. As I
29 understand what you're saying, and can I just take you
30 back because I want to make sure you and I are under-

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 standing each other completely. Some of your people --
2 many of your people would like to go back to hunting
3 and trapping as a way of life. Is that correct?

4 A Yes.

5 Q One way that they could
6 be helped to do that is by a program something like the
7 incentive program that is in existence now. Is that
8 right?

9 A Something better than
10 the incentive program, yes.

11 Q What I'd like you to tell
12 me is how would you make it better? Not as a whole
13 answer, but just deal with the incentive program, how
14 would you make that better so it works better?

15 A We would need to have
16 some control on the program. In fact, we would need
17 to have total control on the program.

18 Q Within your own people?

19 A Yes, and that means
20 that we'd have to discuss with the government the
21 terms under which, because we know that all the money
22 that we've ever gotten so far has always been with
23 conditions, so realistically if we were to get control
24 of this program it would not be something that is small,
25 it would be something that is big, that would involve
26 a lot of aspects of our life, our various aspects,
27 various activities of our way of life.

28 Q I think I understand
29 what you're saying. You're saying it's more than just
30 a freedom from bureaucratic control that we all suffer

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 from. You want to control your own lives.

2 A That's correct.

3 Q And you think --you're
4 saying, I think, that if your people had that kind of
5 control or that kind of freedom about monies, in that
6 kind of a program controlled, as you say, by your
7 people, you could help many of the people that would
8 like to go back to do so.

9 A Including, yes, many of
10 --

11 Q Including who?

12 A It would include those
13 many I mentioned.

14 Q Yes, I understand that.
15 Have you thought about how that would work, if you
16 were free of bureaucratic control, how would you do this?

17 A The discussion on how
18 to control our own lives again does not really actually
19 involve the incentive program. You're talking about
20 something different now.

21 Q No, I'd like you to tell
22 me, if you've thought about it, how the incentive
23 program -- but controlled and managed by your own
24 people, could be made to help you.

25 A The discussion on control
26 is occurring right now. It has been for quite a few
27 years.

28 Q O.K.

29 A And I would like the
30 leaders, who would be the best people to answer that

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 question.

2 Q All right, thank you.

3 There are many people who want to go and do these
4 kind of things but -- that is go back to trapping
5 or go back to what I can call the traditional ways of
6 life, is that it?

7 A Our way of life?

8 Q Yes. There are others
9 who would exercise, if they had the freedom to choose would
10 not want to do that. Is that right?

11 A The way I can answer
12 this is that even those who do not hunt and trap in
13 fact we look at it this way, if a person hasn't
14 hunted and trapped, he really doesn't know what he's
15 missing because it makes things clear. O.K., and so
16 his or her opinion is dependent on whether he or she
17 has had that experience.

18 Q I understand you.

19 A O.K., and after that
20 experience it depends on that person whether he or
21 she feels that he or she wants to do this in the
22 future, and the future we would like to see that open,
23 that option available to these people should they change
24 their mind.

25 Q But as I understand what
26 you're saying, they must be free to make that choice
27 themselves.

28 A Options have to be avail-
29 able to them.
30

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1
2 Q Now, what are the
3 options?

4 A At the moment?

5 Q Of the Dene people.

6 A At the moment?

7 Q At the moment, no. I
8 understand what you're talking about. Assume that
9 the Dene people have the political and other freedom
10 that they could have those options available to them.
11 What would the other options be?

12 A That again is currently
13 being debated.

14 Q I don't want to pry into
15 private matters concerning, you know, the land claims
16 or into internal discussions. That's not my business.
17 Is that what you're telling me?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Pardon?

20 A Yes.

21 Q All right, thank you.

22 WITNESS MENICOCHÉ: I'd like
23 to add to what Phoebe had to say. I don't want to
24 dispute it, Phoebe, or anything, but this incentive
25 program, I haven't heard about it. I was just wonder-
26 ing whether Mr. Steeves was just talking about
27 something that might possibly occur. The only incentive
28 program that I've heard about is the program where the
29 Game Warden has given a certain -- I think it's 10%
30 of the amount of fur-bearing profit any trapper has

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 gotten over the past year and I just know of a couple
2 of cases in Fort Liard and that just happened last
3 year.

4 THE COMMISSIONER: You mean
5 he makes an advance?

6 A No, this incentive
7 program, I don't know what Phoebe and Mr. Steeves are
8 talking about because I haven't heard about it.

9 MR. STEEVES: I'm sorry. Can
10 I just say I understood Miss Nahanni to say that's one
11 of the things that's wrong with the whole idea, is that
12 / most people don't know about it, and I think what you have
13 said is in accordance with that. But I understood,
14 as I understand the program -- well, I'm sorry, is there
15 someone here who will --

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, we'll
17 ask Commission counsel and his staff to make sure
18 that's sorted out, not necessarily when this panel is
19 present, but at some stage.

20 Mr. Bayly isn't here but I
21 assume -- oh, I see him out there. Mr. Bayly, if you'd
22 like to join us for a moment.

23 MR. STEEVES: I thought maybe
24 he was taking the advice of that witness yesterday,
25 in packing up his tent.

26 MR. BAYLY: We have to at this
27 time of year, Mr. Commissioner, the bears get into
28 them.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: This
30 question that has been raised about the extent to which

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 the Dene people still make use of the land. Now, you
2 -- there are a number of ways of examining that ques-
3 tion, and in the statement -- in the presentation that
4 Miss Nahanni has made she dealt with it in a most
5 comprehensive way. Now I want you to understand that
6 I am not relying solely on you know, these figures,
7 whether they are the Gemini North figures, or the
8 Brotherhood figures, you know whether it's 96 or
9 1,075, because statistics often don't tell the whole
10 story one way or the other, whichever set you may
11 adopt. So don't think that I'm willing to play a
12 kind of numbers game here. You all seem to be into
13 this numbers thing now. Maybe to help us sort it out
14 Mr. Bayly, you might on behalf of COPE at some stage
15 let us know what the corresponding figure would be
16 for the Inuit people in the Western Arctic, and by
17 that I mean in the villages and towns that I have
18 visited and held hearings at where Inuit people lived,
19 what the corresponding Inuit figure would be to the
20 1,075 figure for trappers that is in Miss Nahanni's
21 brief, and some you might, Mr. Scott, in due course
22 let Mr. , Mr. --

23 MR. SCOTT: Yes, I will.

24 THE COMMISSIONER: -- the
25 Council for Yukon Indians, Mr. Veale, yes --

26 MR. BAYLY: He'll be back.

27 THE COMMISSIONER: -- Mr. Veale,
28 I was going to say Lueck and then I was going to say
29 Lutes, and I knew I was headed in the wrong direction.
30 But you might let Mr. Veale know that it would be

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 helpful if he would give us this corresponding figure
2 for the people of Old Crow. That would give us, I
3 think, a total figure.

4 Now as I say, that wouldn't
5 necessarily complete the picture, whether we accept
6 those figures or reduce them or enlarge them or what-
7 ever, because so much depends on people's attitudes
8 toward the land as well as simply on the activity they
9 may be engaged in.

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Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellinney, Bahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 MR. BAYLY: Is that, Mr.
2 Commissioner, excuse me, a figure that is based on those
3 people that live from the land?

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Well let
5 me come to that now --

6 MR. BAYLY: Trap, hunt or fish
7 on the land ?

8 THE COMMISSIONER: I -- My
9 impression has been, in my travels in the north that if
10 you're hunting or fishing, you're usually hunting or
11 fishing for food for yourself and your family and if
12 you're trapping, to a much greater extent you're trapping
13 for furs, and there's one of the purposes of trapping
14 for furs is either to manufacture clothing for yourself
15 or your family or to sell the furs for cash so that
16 these things don't necessarily correspond altogether.
17 But, it may be that counsel could get together and I
18 know that the Inquiry staff has been working on this
19 whole problem, but it may be counsel could get together
20 with Commission counsel and Mr. Weick and Mr. Jackson
21 and have a discussion about this so that everybody is
22 not at cross-purposes.

23 But, it may be that if for
24 a family, the land constitutes either the main source
25 of food or the main source of income. That is a test
26 that all of you can agree to and perhaps work out some
27 figures that are not in dispute. I assume the 1,075
28 trappers would, accepting that figure for purposes of
29 argument, would, by and large, be heads of households,
30 heads of families.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

Now we have heard from women
who trap who are effectively the heads of households
in the communities and I'm taking that into account
too. I'm -- you're perfectly at liberty to ignore
everything I've just said, but it may be that if counsel
got together you might find that you could get along a
little farther along this road and perhaps reach common
ground of some kind.

In what I've said, I'm not
detracting at all from this very impressive presentation
that you've made. It's a very important subject and
important to me and I want to make sure that we all
know what we're arguing about.

So, on that note, I wonder
if we might stop for coffee and then Mr. Scott could
proceed.

MR. SCOTT: Is Mr. Steeves
finished?

THE COMMISSIONER: He's headed
for coffee. I think he's finished.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

(PROCEEDINGS RESUME PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)
CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

Q Miss Nahanni, I'd
like to ask you some questions about the way the survey
was prepared but before I do, do I understand first
of all that its primary purpose is to show the extent
to which the land has been used by your people, insofar
as they have memory of it being used?

WITNESS NAHANNI:

A The primary purpose of
our land use and occupancy research is to show the

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 extent of our land use for the purposes of our land claims.

2 Q Yes and for that purpose
3 you asked people to tell you the routes and hunting
4 and trapping locations that they had used either presently
5 or in the past?

6 A Yes.

7 Q Yes. I take it that there
8 is no purpose in these maps to show the extent to which
9 people are today dependent on those particular routes
10 or locations?

11 A A lot of these routes are
12 Dene trails and they're seasonal trails and when people
13 go off on the land they use these trails.

14 Q But I suggest to you that
15 many of them are not trails or locations that are
16 necessarily being used now?

17 A That's correct.

18 Q Yes, though they were
19 used some time in the past in let's say the last
20 generation?

21 A What do you mean "the
22 last generation"? These trails are not used every year,
23 but they're used occasionally by different people.

24 Q So the purpose is not
25 to show that these trails or locations are being used
26 this year or last year?

27 A No.

28 Q I take it it's not
29 the purpose to show by your figures of 30 percent or
30 1,076 the number of people that are wholly dependent on

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 hunting and trapping?

2 A What do you mean by "wholly
3 dependent"?

4 Q Well, who depend for
5 their food or money exclusively on hunting and trapping.

6 A It shows the Dene land
7 use.

8 Q Yes, but it isn't intended
9 to show that 1,076 people are dependent exclusively
10 for food or money on trapping or hunting?

11 A Not exclusively for
12 hunting and trapping and fishing, but that's only part
13 of the way of life.

14 Q Yes, I think I understand
15 that but what I'm getting at is that your figure of
16 1,076 is really designed ^{to show} the people or the heads of
17 families or what have you who utilize the opportunity
18 to hunt and trap either for their own food or to get
19 cash.

20 A Yes.

21 Q That's why, in your 1,076
22 there may be people who just participate in the caribou
23 hunt and are not interested in doing anything else.

24 A I don't know whether it's
25 a lack of interest in anything else, but the -- some
26 just hunt. Some people just hunt.

27 Q And as you, I think frankly
28 said in answer to one question that's why in your 1,076
29 there will be some people who are busy hunting, trapping
30 and fishing for many months in the year and there are

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 some people who are busy hunting, trapping and fishing
2 for perhaps only a week or two in the year?

3 A I wouldn't really say
4 whether it's a week or two in the year because there's
5 the different seasons. They may spend about a week or
6 two in each season.

7 Q I take it that -- what
8 we're getting at though is that there are some people
9 in your --

10 A Excuse me, excuse me --

11 Q I'm sorry.

12 A I might add that when you
13 go spring hunting, it isn't only for a week or two
14 it's usually for about a month.

15 Q Yes. But --

16 A A month and a half.

17 Q It seems to me perhaps
18 part of the trouble that some people have had of under-
19 standing these maps, has been because they don't under-
20 stand that the fact is that of these 1,076, a number of
21 those 1,076 will engage in every form of hunting and
22 trapping that is available to them and there are others
23 who will engage for only one or two perhaps types of
24 hunting and trapping that's available to them.

25 A Most of the people that
26 we interviewed if they're not hunting and trapping all
27 year round, they did maybe two years ago or maybe they
28 hunt all year maybe for 23 years and maybe for 40 years.
29 We were talking about people who have a lot of experience
30 on the land.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Q Well that's what I -- the
2 next thing that I was going to come to, that of the
3 1,076, there will be a number in that 1,076 who were
4 very active hunters three or four years ago perhaps
5 but who are not active now.

6 A Not by choice.

7 Q Well, it may not -- I
8 understand that. It may not be by choice but who in
9 fact, for whatever reason, are not active now.

10 A Not all year round.

11 Q Yes. There are of course
12 in that 1,076 --

13 MR. BELL: Excuse me.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse
15 me Mr. Scott.

16 MR. BELL: I think Mr. Snow-
17 shoe wanted to add something.

18 WITNESS SNOWSHOE: You people
19 are talking about the last few years for trapping and
20 hunting and the people are not interested in going back
21 into the land. You must bear in mind that about six,
22 seven years ago, probably these 1,075 were on the land,
23 about a year round. I remember the time, about that
24 time about seven years ago, I was out on the land year
25 round. I fish in summer. When I stay in the bush
26 I stay 35 miles above McPherson. We stay there a year
27 round. In that time, the life-style changing for us.
28 That's when they started with coming in with these
29 low rental housing and welfare. Just think about and
30 it's about seven years ago. The people, the native

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 people of the north were independent until you brought
2 in that low rental housing and that's where when we first
3 got sucked into that business of going into low rental
4 housing everything is going to be good. That's just
5 the way it is when you coming into something new like
6 that without thinking about what you're getting yourself
7 into. But you realize later on when you try as I
8 was talking yesterday when I said when I first brought
9 in -- sort of made up my mind I'm going to go into
10 town and start working and that's when I started working
11 in town and while I was working in town and this booze,
12 liquor came in free to us all as long as we had the
13 money and I became an alcoholic. I was lucky enough
14 to hang onto a job.
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Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 And since that time I never
2 drank over a year now. I still try my best, and you
3 must bear in mind that we didn't quit, we were sort
4 of forced into these low-rental housing, and that's
5 the biggest headache I can think about today. Like I
6 said, the Community of Fort McPherson is looking
7 into it now and thinking of getting their own place
8 and start living the way they used to live.

9 Q Well, Mr. Snowshoe, I
10 think you've explained today and yesterday that you
11 were a full-time hunter and trapper until this low
12 rent housing came in.

13 A Yes.

14 Q And after that you got a
15 job in town.

16 A Yes.

17 Q You told us -- now for
18 example, what hunting and trapping have you been able
19 to do in the last year?

20 A In the last year? In the
21 last year, last year I was working. Like I said, I
22 quit drinking last year and had to find my way, and
23 this is one of the benefits we're supposed to be
24 getting, we're supposed to be employed, and I was working
25 on the Dempster Highway last spring and I didn't like
26 what I seen on the Dempster Highway concerning us
27 natives. I worked there till May. From there I went
28 in and worked in the co-op store, and at that time
29 my mind was still bothering me ^{to get back in the bush.} I was working in the
30 co-op store, and then I said, "No way, I'm not going to

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellisseey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 work, I'm going to go back out in the bush and fish,"
2 and that's what I did last summer.

3
4 Q And you were fishing for
5 the summer?

6 A Yes, from August, yes.

7 Q From August until when?

8 A Until November.

9 Q Until November, and then
10 after that what did you do?

11 A Then after that I went
12 back -- you know, it's one thing in the north when a
13 person is not drinking, and any job available they
14 just like to grab you, and I didn't do too much until
15 in January I got a job concerning working with alcohol,
16 and now I'm working in -- we got a little centre up
17 there, which I'm glad to help, seeing that we're trying
18 to show that we are trying to help ourself, to help
19 our community, people that's involved in drinking.

20 Q And that's what you're
21 working at now?

22 A I'm working at that now
23 but I asked for a month off so I can go out.

24 Q Go out fishing or hunting?

25 A Hunting rats, yes.

26 Q And when are you going
27 to do that?

28 A Well, I'm supposed to be
29 gone already; I'm here.

30 Q I'm sorry. You put me in

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 my place. Now, Miss Nahanni, I take it that in the
2 1,075 there will also be some people who hunt and
3 trap mostly for their own consumption, and some who
4 do it for their own food and to sell.

5 WITNESS NAHANNI: Did you say
6 "hunt and trap"?

7 Q Well, in the 1,075 people
8 you have, there will be some who do it for their own
9 food almost entirely, and some who do it for their
10 own food and for the purposes of sale.

11 A Yes.

12 Q Well now, when you went
13 to a community to interview these people, would you
14 tell me again how you found the people to be inter-
15 viewed?

16 A I think Betty and Freddie
17 would be the best people to answer that question.

18 Q All right.

19 A But I could answer it
20 as well.

21 Q Well, whichever you
22 want.

23 A Usually I talked with
24 the field workers before they went into the communities
25 to interview hunters and trappers. I suggested to
26 them that they make a total list of trappers first
27 before obtaining a sample, and that the sample can be,
28 the people who are on the sample, they can choose the
29 people who are on the sample after they have -- no,
30 and consult with their leaders, the community leaders,

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 and also the people who are 30 and over because they
2 have the most experience. Now when they went in the
3 communities they didn't necessarily make a total list
4 at the beginning because it took some time to get the
5 quota anyways, so they started interviewing right
6 away and then from that they eventually got the quota.
7 They didn't really say who was going to be on the
8 sample immediately.

9
10 Q I take it the idea when
11 you began, if you had time and money, was to prepare
12 the total list and then take a sample of about 30%
13 from that.

14 A Yes.

15 Q And was that done in
16 some of the communities?

17 A The total list and then
18 the sample?

19 Q Yes.

20 A All communities, the
21 sample at the moment all the communities are completed
22 except for two. We're still expecting more interviews
23 from Rae and a few more from Providence. I really
24 couldn't --

25 Q But in every community
26 with the exception of Rae and Providence, leave them
27 out if they're not finished, but in every other
28 community were you able to get a total list?

29 A Yes.

30 Q So you would have a list
of 1,075 hunters and trappers.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

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A In fact --

Q From which you selected
your samples.

A -- no, we usually took
the samples from the total of each community and then
we added up the total list; but I find that there is
more than 1,076 -- not 76, 75, I find that there is
more than that because I find that there is more people
who are not on the band list, for instance.

Q But the point I'm getting
at is that much depends on ^{how} the sample was selected
in any of these things, as you know, and I take it
that what you tried to do first was to get what we're
calling the total list for a community.

A Yes.

Q And you would get that
by going to the band list and by talking to people.

A By talking to the commun-
ity leaders and other trappers.

Q Yes, and what would you
ask them? "Who are the hunters and trappers around here?"
That sort of question.

A What we usually asked,
"What areas are used for a community?" Like most of the
field workers know the trappers and they know which
trappers go where. Am I answering your question?

Q I think I understand.
Let's take an example of Fort Good Hope, I take it
that you would go in there and you would go to the band

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 list and talk to the people in the community and you
2 would try to get a total list of all the hunters and
3 trappers in the community. Is that right?

4 A Like I said, the field
5 workers usually knew the hunters and trappers, but
6 they used the band list as well as talking to the
7 community leaders to obtain the total list.

8 Q Did they ever keep those
9 lists?

10 A Did they keep them?

11 Q Yes.

12 A Yes.

13 Q And on those lists there
14 will be at least 1,075 names?

15 A On my total list?

16 Q Yes.

17 A They're not all together
18 but there are over 1,075.

19 Q Yes, and Mr. Bell has
20 those lists if anyone wants to see them.

21 A I could type them up or
22 he could type them up.

23 Q Is that all right, Mr. Bell?
24 When you had those lists then you would select persons
25 to be interviewed, or the leaders of the community would
26 select persons to be interviewed.

27 A Depending on whether
28 they were in town, depending on when they could be
29 interviewed, and the sample -- the list of people on
30

Snowshoe, "Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 the sample were not really definite from the beginning.
2 It depended on which person was available, and the
3 extent of his experience on the land. What we were
4 trying to bring out was that our -- my generation
5 anyway, weren't taught the -- about our land. In fact
6 a lot of us knew what Southern Canada was all about
7 in terms of, you know, where people travelling on buses,
8 etc. We didn't know about our land, and the people
9 who had the most experience, ^{could} provide all that informa-
10 tion, so what we were trying to do was to try to get
11 information. We knew the information was there. We just
12 had to get it down in writing.

13 Q I have no questions about
14 the information. I am for the moment entirely satis-
15 fied with that. What I'm interested in is the 1,075
16 figure, and it seems to me that there are two ways of
17 getting that figure. The first is to go out and make
18 a list of 1,075 hunters and trappers, with the help of
19 council lists and the leaders of the community, and the
20 second is to interview 390 people or 396 people and
21 multiply by three. Now, which way was it done?

22 A We didn't determine the
23 quota from the beginning, like I said. When we were
24 looking at a community, for instance, the field worker
25 would make a list of all the people who hunt and trap
26 and fish and included men and women.
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Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Q And that's a list that
2 you can make up for Mr. Bell?

3 A And that's the list that
4 we have.

5 Q Yes.

6 A And after that was made,
7 and that could have taken you know over a period of
8 two months or three months --

9 Q Yes.

10 A -- but you see, the
11 -- from that list the field workers determined approxi-
12 mately one-third but they didn't say which, they
13 didn't determine which trapper would be interviewed at
14 that time. They interviewed the people who had the
15 most experience and the lists were made up of people
16 who were over 30, but through the course of the re-
17 search we find that there are more people who hunt and
18 trap under 30, so they were included in the list.

19 Q O.K., well now let's
20 see if I understand. You've got in your office to
21 support this a list of over 1,075 people who in the
22 judgment of the leaders of the community and your
23 field workers are the hunters and trappers that are
24 referred to in this study.

25 A That's correct.

26 Q You also have a list of the
27 people who were in fact interviewed to help you make
28 the map.

29 A That's correct.

30 Q O.K., and Mr. Bell has

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

access to that list as well.

A Yes.

Q Now, those people who were interviewed, I take it, were determined by either the field workers or by the leaders of the community.

A They were determined by the field workers and the community leaders.

Q And by and large you tried to find people who were over 30 and who were the most experienced.

A Yes.

Q Because you were doing a historical review of land use in the Territories.

A Past and present, yes.

Q Yes, past and present.

And when the field workers interviewed them, I take it these interviews were conducted by one or two people orally. There wasn't a questionnaire or anything.

A No.

Q And I think you said in your evidence that when the interview was over it was recorded by the field worker in writing on information or biography sheets.

A Yes.

Q And some on tapes.

A M-hm.

Q And I take it the tapes are simply on tapes because you haven't got around to transcribing them yet.

A Some of them are

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 transcribed.

2
3 Q I see, and those biogra-
4 phy and information sheets are available and are the
5 backup for your land use maps.

6 A Yes.

7 Q And they are all available
8 to Mr. Bell.

9 A Yes.

10 Q For all 396 interviewees.

11 A Yes.

12 Q Yes.

13 A But I'd like to add that
14 these are personal documents and we want to keep them
15 confidential.

16 Q Well, I take it that
17 apart from the name of the persons, perhaps, you have
18 no objection to anyone of the Inquiry who was interested
19 in your land use study from examining them.

20 A Looking at the list of
21 people who were interviewed?

22 Q And the interview sheets.

23 A We would have to talk to
24 the persons who were interviewed, first.

25 Q But if they consented,
26 you wouldn't have any objection.

27 A If they said it's O.K.,
28 then it's O.K.

29 Q Well now, can you tell us
30 in general terms what's on those information sheets?

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

First of all, I take it that you have the name and the address and the age of the person you're interviewing.

A Yes.

Q Yes, and you have something about how long he's been trapping and hunting, and where.

A Yes.

Q Do you have anything about whether he is presently - that is in the last year or two -- hunting or trapping?

A Yes.

Q Do you have anything about whether he is trapping or hunting for his own consumption or for sale?

A Not necessarily.

Q Do you have anything about whether he has participated in the Territorial Government's subsidy program about which you and Mr. Steeves were talking?

A Not necessarily.

Q Do you have anything on the sheet about the value of the sales, if he sold his produce?

A In terms of money?

Q Yes, if he sold furs in one year, do you have anything about how much he got for them in any year?

A Some of the trappers mentioned how much a pelt used to cost, as compared to

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

what it is now.

Q Well, that's complaining about deflation? I take it they weren't asked routinely and they didn't tell you routinely about how much money, if they were selling, they were able to make?

A No.

THE COMMISSIONER: Do the sheets show the animal that they were hunting for? For instance, muskrat, caribou, fish, fishing, whatever? Does that appear from the material?

A It depends on the season. They tell us that in the wintertime they would trap for fur-bearing animals such as wolverine, fox and lynx, martin, mink.

Q So that --

A And that's --

Q -- it's a fair assumption that they would be trapping for furs, if those are the species listed; but that if it says "caribou" at a given time of year we can assume that it's for -- they're hunting for food.

A Yes, and most of the animals trapped are also consumed.

MR. SCOTT: Q Miss Nahanni, you may have answered this and I think I have it clear, you would also get from the interviewees where they trapped and hunted?

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

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A Yes.

Q That's what you wanted to
put on the map.

A Yes.

Q So by looking at the
interview sheets we would be able to tell how many
hunted and trapped in the area of the pipeline.

A Yes.

Q And we would also be
able to tell, would we, from the interview sheets
when these people hunted and trapped. Many would
have trapped for let us say 25 years solid every
year; others would have trapped but stopped five
years ago, and things like that.

A Yes, if they could give
us dates.

Q Yes. Now on the maps
I take it you^{have} tried to show places and locations not
only for trapping but also for hunting, and hunting
includes the shooting of birds, does it?

A Yes.

Q You also tried to show
fishing.

A Yes.

Q And when one looks at the
maps they really show, as you said in your evidence at
page 17, three codes. The first is travel routes and
trails and traplines, and those are the lines that are
drawn on the map, is that right?

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

A Yes.

Q The second is camp and
living sites and subsistence and fur-bearing animals
and those are shown either by dots or circles or
letters.

A Camps are shown by triangles
and dots and the subsistence and fur-bearing animals
are shown with letters.

Q Well, just by looking at
the map, is there any -- and without going to the
information sheet -- is there any way we can tell whether
the line that is shown was a trapline or a trail for
example to a fishing lake?

A No, because some routes
are river routes.

Q But -- and I'm not suggest-
ing that that matters one moment for land use purposes,
but I take it that when you look at the line you can't
tell whether that's a trapline or whether it's a path
or route to a fishing or a bird-shooting location.

A Well, depending on where
we come from, we know which is which.

Q You would know, and the
people who answered the interviews would know, but
someone like me would have no way of telling.

A That's correct.

Q You don't have to correct
me as being too dumb --

Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

A Unless you asked.

Q But I take it that the
information sheets would tell us something about that.

A Yes.

Q For example, if I was
interested in a little line down in the corner, the
information sheet would tell me whether that line was
used as a trapline, or was the route to a fishing or
bird-shooting location, or both perhaps.

A Yes.

Q And when you said -- and
also on your map you have some lines that are thicker
than others.

A Yes.

Q And you've described that
those
/ lines are lines that turned up in more than one --
in a proportionate number of interviews.

A Yes.

Q And I take it that you
therefore didn't really mean to say that if ^{you} interviewed
all 1,075, that there would be three times as many
lines on the map.

A We interviewed 396.

Q Yes, but you told us
yesterday that you had to multiply that by three to get
the true picture.

A Yes.

Q And you weren't meaning
to suggest that when you multiplied by three you got

2 three times as many lines on the map.

3 A I am suggesting that.
4 If you look at the map you will see only one-third,
5 approximately one-third, and if you multiply that
6 by three times that would just cover up the whole
7 area. That's what I'm saying.

8 Q I see.

9 A In addition to that,
10 the people who were interviewed did not give us full
11 details because of time constraints, and because they
12 had to -- because they left town or they went into the
13 bush or something, and we didn't get all the information
14 from them.

15 Q Well, leaving that aside,
16 I take it that of the two-thirds that separate 396 to
17 1,075, it's reasonably fair to assume that a number of
18 them would have used routes that are already shown on
19 the maps that were used by other people in the community.

20 A Yes.

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Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

Q Now, I understand the purpose for which those maps were prepared, I think, I take it from the information you have in the interviews if you wanted to prepare a different kind of map you could. That is, for example, if you were asked to prepare a map of what the interviewers had to say about using lines and locations in the last ten years, you could take out the interviews and do that? I'm not asking you to because you probably haven't got the funds to do it. But you could do it, couldn't you?

A We could, but it's a useless exercise as far as we're concerned.

Q Yes. It's a useless exercise in the sense that the maps are designed to show the historical -- that is over the last 30 or 40 years use of your land?

A The trails and the routes that are being used now by those -- by the living hunters and trappers were used by their fathers or their parents and before them. So, the routes that you see here, many of these routes and trails are old, old trails so they represent use since I can't remember.

Q But if I asked you to do it and I gave you a large sum of money and a lot of people to help you, you would be able to prepare a map from your interviews that you have which show what lines have been used by somebody in the last ten years?

A It depends on what you want to use it for.

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Scott

Q Well, if I had my purposes
and I wanted a map to show which persons -- to show
the routes that had been used by the community in the
last ten years, your interviews could provide that
information?

A If the chiefs asked us
to do that, we would.

Q Yes. If the chiefs asked
you to do it, it could be done from the interviews that
you presently have on file?

A Yes, because we could
still get more information from what we have now.

Q Yes. But even with
information you have now it could be done?

A Not necessarily because
a lot of the people that ^{we} interviewed couldn't give us
exact dates or they couldn't say well 1919 or 1925, they
just didn't think it was relevant.

Q Yes, I see. But I take
it that people who had used the routes in the last five
to ten years would be able to tell you that?

A Yes.

Q One other thing and I
hope you won't think that I'm being critical, but the
thickness of the lines which we've talked about is
the thickness based on the proposition for example that
25 percent of the community have utilized a given route.
Have I got it right?

A 50 percent and over.

Q Fifty percent or over?

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Cross-Exam by Scott

A Of the sample.~

Q Of the sample?

A Yes.

Q Yes. Of course, fifty percent of a very small community like Colville Lake is shown in the same fashion as fifty percent of a very large community?

A Yes.

Q So there is that prudence that must be taken in reading the map?

A Yes.

THE COMMISSIONER: That's fifty percent of the trappers interviewed not --

A Yes, of the sample. Yes. In each community. Do you want to know the reason why, or do I have to go into that or --

MR. SCOTT: Well, if you want to tell us, I'm quite content with it as long as I understand it.

A Well I did say in my presentation that the reason why we did this, is because the routes used by fifty percent of the sample in Colville Lake for instance has equal importance to them as the route used by fifty percent of the sample in Fort McPherson for instance, so it shows that there is an equal importance of these particular routes for these two communities.

Q You'd be in some trouble if the people in Colville Lake thought that you were giving their main route less importance than a main route

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1 for Good Hope.

4 A I certainly would be.

2 Q Yes I see. Now, in
4 those cases where the community leaders suggested the
5 persons to be interviewed -- 'are'^{we} thinking about the
6 same thing now?

7 A M-hm.

8 Q Were there any cases where
9 that interview was rejected by you as not being appropriate?
10

11 A No.

12 Q Well now, when Mr.
13 Steeves asked you some questions about the Trappers
14 Incentive Program, you indicated that there were other
15 policies that would have to change if that policy was
16 to be effective. Now, what are the other policies and
17 what do you mean by that?

18 A What I mean is that
19 when I mentioned the Incentive Program, I was trying
20 to tell you that the government was providing us very
21 little money for a way of life that we consider very
22 important and that we don't regard trapping as the
23 only -- the money to us was an incentive to trap but
24 there are other needs amongst our people and in fact,
25 if you look at the needs of our people, the Incentive
26 Program is just nothing. We don't even want to look
27 at it.

28 If we're going to change the
29 way things are for us now, we're going to have to change
30 the education system so that it's complimentary to our

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way of life. That is --

Q What do you mean by that?

A I mean that at the present time, the education system has an education year say starting from September and ending in May or June. That's a long time for a lot of our children who could learn about our way of life with the parents in the bush. So, if we were to develop programs for ourselves so that it would support morally our way of life, then we would have to adjust the education system so that it is complimentary to our way of life.

In other words, the education from living off the land would have to be part of our education, -- part of our education in school is what I'm saying. There's equal importance.

Q Now on page 14 when you were describing the way the survey was done and the techniques that were utilized, in the second paragraph, you indicated that there was a need for those well practised in the art -- and I think the "art" is utilizing the white man's tongue to translate your findings into terms likely to be understood and recognized by those in a position to accept or reject these appeals.

Then you say that:

"such externally recognized experts were called upon when necessary . . ."

and so on. Who were those experts?

A Mr. Scott, I didn't quite finish my other answer.

Q I'm sorry. I'm sorry, I

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thought you had.

A Besides education system, adjusting that system, we would also like to include other services that would compliment our way of life and these services can be worked out in the health services, in communications and possibly in our traditional recreation, because although we work really hard, we also like to have a good time.

Now, for your question regarding those experts. Initially we consulted two anthropologists concerning methodology. These two anthropologists are Beryl Gillespie and June Helm. We also consulted some of the Dene chiefs -- Dene hunters and trappers -- along with these two experts.

Q Was the analysis done in the way recommended by Dr. Helm and Dr. Gillespie?

A Some of their recommendations were good and we adopted them, yes.

Q But I take it that there was a difference of opinion between you and them?

A In many respects.

Q In many respects.

A Yes.

Q I take it that Dr. Helm and Dr. Gillespie have not been asked to make any comment on the final report or on the final results?

A We asked them only to do certain things, and that was done, so we didn't need their services any more.

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Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Q Well, what did you
2 ask them to do?

3 A We asked them to help
4 us devise a methodology and orientate the field
5 workers to use the methodology.

6 Q Yes, and I take it
7 that when a difference of opinion occurred as to their
8 recommendations their services ceased?

9 A Not necessarily. They
10 provided us with some recommendations for methodology
11 and showed the field workers how to use it and that
12 was all. The field workers picked it up from there,
13 but if they wanted some advice on how to ask questions
14 without intimidating, that was another matter.

15 Q What I'm trying to get
16 at is that Dr. Helm and Dr. Gillespie had not had an
17 ongoing participation --

18 A No.

19 Q -- in this work. After
20 their recommendations were made to the Brotherhood,
21 their role fundamentally ceased?

22 A Yes.

23 Q Excuse me. It's really
24 a question for Mr. Bell to assist in assessing the
25 land use maps for our purposes not for the purposes
26 for which they were primarily prepared, but will it be
27 made clear at some stage of the Inquiry which recommenda-
28 tions of the anthropologists were not acted upon?

29 MR. BELL: I don't know
30 whether we have a record of that or not. I'll have to

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Cross-Exam by Scott

1 ask Miss Nahanni.

MR. SCOTT:

2 Q Well, do you want to
3 ask or -- I'm sorry.

4 A Mr. Scott, might I ask
5 for what purpose you are asking that question?

6 Q Yes, the purpose that
7 I have in mind is that although the land use maps
8 may have -- although the primary purpose of the land use
9 maps is to make your land use claim and that I
10 understand. I'm not interested in them from that
11 point of view. I'm interested in them from the point
12 of view of the Inquiry, and I want to be sure that I
13 understand the methodology that was adopted and the
14 advice you had when you came to prepare them for our
15 purposes not for the purposes of any other use you may
16 make of the land use maps.

17 A Okay.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Any re-
19 examination, Mr. Bell?

20 MR. BELL: Yes.

21 MR. SCOTT: Well, before we
22 get to that I take it that Mr. Bell, I'm going to get
23 in some form an answer to that question, am I?

24 MR. BELL: Yes, sir. I'll
25 take it up with Miss Nahanni and report back.

26 MR. SCOTT: Well, Miss
27 Nahanni didn't answer it in the sense that she didn't
28 tell me the recommendations that were not acted on.

29 A I would prefer to
30 talk to Mr. Bell before.

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1 MR. SCOTT: I have no objection
2 to that if I understand from Mr. Bell that that
3 information is going to be forthcoming.

4 MR. BELL: If it exists, it
5 will.

6 MR. SCOTT: Well, now --

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.

8 MR. SCOTT: I just had one
9 other question and you may not be able to answer this,
10 Miss Nahanni and if you aren't I know you will feel
11 perfectly frank to say so, but one of the issues before
12 the Inquiry is as you know, is whether the pipeline
13 can be constructed without prejudice to the land
14 claim of the Brotherhood. You understand that?

15 A Yes.

16 Q And we've heard a fair
17 amount about the general dimensions of the land claim.
18 Are you or the Brotherhood in a position to tell us
19 when that land claim with particularity will be
20 advanced? I ask that because it may be said in the
21 Inquiry that it is difficult to judge the question
22 before the Inquiry; that is, whether prejudice
23 exists until the particulars of the claim are known.

24 A Maybe I -- well, that
25 question, I couldn't directly answer.

26 Q All right.

27 A But I could comment that
28 a pipeline development cutting across our land as far
29 as we're concerned is an imposition on our way of life,
30 on the environment and the beings on the land

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Cross-Exam by Scott

1 and that if we were in a position of determining the
2 kind of development that is going to occur on our land
3 it would not be that of a pipeline development.

4 MR. SCOTT:

5 Well perhaps, Mr. Bell,
6 you can see if the, if your instructions permit an
7 answer to the more specific question that I asked.

8 MR. BELL: Yes, I should say
9 that we are going to be calling a panel of witnesses
10 which I believe I mentioned earlier in phase four who
11 will be able to answer your question with more
12 particularity give you a better estimate perhaps of
13 the timing involved.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Just let
15 me say that I'm rather more interested in the
16 fleshing out of the claim that is generally known as
17 the Dene Land Claim, rather than in knowing when
18 and at what given date you might be in a position to
19 present it to the Cabinet, because that's not something
20 that concerns me. That's between the Dene people and
21 the government of Canada. But Mr. Scott has raised a
22 legitimate concern of the Inquiry and that is to
23 determine the question of prejudice.

24 We have heard a lot of
25 evidence and I have it all in mind. I'm not suggesting
26 that it isn't vital and important evidence -- the
27 evidence we've heard in the villages but bearing in
28 mind Mr. Scott's request, if that panel you have men-
29 tioned that is coming up later can flesh out the
30 extent of the land claim, the rights the Dene would
seek to assert for themselves in terms of governing

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Cross-Exam by Scott

1 themselves, in terms of the determination of what
2 economic development might occur on the land, that kind
3 of thing, I think that would be helpful to the Inquiry,
4 at least helpful to me. You know Mr. Scott's concern;
5 now, you know mine. But the date doesn't -- don't
6 go to an awful lot of trouble to get the date for
7 me. I'm interested in the substance, not in when
8 you may be in a position to approach the Cabinet.

9 MR. SCOTT: Well --

10 MR. BELL: If I could just --

11 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
12 I don't think I really intended anything other than
13 that that the date of its formal presentation would
14 not concern our staff. But what does concern us is
15 to know with particularity what that claim will be
16 so the prejudice against all its particulars can be
17 assessed.

18 MR. BELL: Well, I don't
19 know whether we will be able to present before the
20 Inquiry before it ends, a fully fleshed-out proposal. We
21 may be able to present some of the considerations that
22 are being taken into account and I think that's about
23 all I can say about it until we have a panel which is
24 able to speak to this.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Right, well --

26 MR. STEEVES: Mr. Bell, would
27 you put the mike over? I'm not hearing you very well.
28 You said you have a panel and I missed everything else.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: That will
30 discuss the considerations that are being weighed --

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 Cross-Exam by Scott

MR. STEEVES: -- In the
 formulation of the claims?

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, I
 think that's what you said, wasn't it?

MR. BELL: Yes.

THE COMMISSIONER: I think
 we'll have to wait for that panel but you might bear
 in mind that I'm anxious to have some idea of the --
 well, let me put it this way. Having been to the
 villages, having heard a great deal of evidence, I
 think I have an idea of the main lines of the Dene
 Claim but to -- I think we would^{all} appreciate if the main
 lines of the Claim, the framework could be fleshed out
 so far as you can. We're not asking anymore than that
 because it would be helpful to us, to me at any rate,
 you understand I'm sure.

MR. SCOTT: Just one other
 question, Miss Nahanni. On page 28 of your transcribed
 evidence in the second last paragraph on that page, you
 make the point that the proposed gas pipeline routes
 and construction sites conflict with the activities of
 which you have given evidence, and which are
 illustrated on your map, you say these routes show no
 sign of regard for our trails, travel routes and trap-
 lines in our camps. The implications of such intrusions
 not only affect the trails, travel routes and traplines,
 they also indiscriminately and without discretion affect
 the animals, fish lakes and the environment and our
 way of life. Now, for better or for worse, the route
 was prepared by the applicants before your land use maps

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Cross-Exam by Scott
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 were available but I take it that when you interviewed
2 people you were able to show them where the proposed
3 route in general terms, or the proposed construction
4 sites or the proposed river crossings were?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Yes, did any of the
7 interviewers or any of the persons interviewed make
8 suggestions to you as to better locations for either
9 the route, the construction sites or the river
10 crossings?

11 A No. None of them.

12 Q Not one of the 396?

13 A They had a lot of
14 opinion on the pipeline --

15 Q We have heard about
16 that but what I'm asking is, did any of the 396 say
17 such things as "I wish the construction^{site} were on the
18 other side of the river", or "I wish the crossing was
19 four miles away rather than here", or anything like
20 that?

21 A No.

22 Q No.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: They opted
24 for the Boyce Richardson Route, did they?

25 MR. SCOTT: Those are all the
26 questions I have. Thank you, Miss Nahanni and members
27 of the panel.

28 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. STEEVES (CONTINUED):

29 Q Miss Nahanni, I'm sorry
30 to keep you involved in this process of making you

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Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 concentrate on different subjects. Could you
2 concentrate on what you have said on page 13 of
3 your evidence?
4

5 You were talking here
6 about the general purpose of the study that you
7 undertook, I think.
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Snowshoe, Greenland, Pellissey
Menicoche, Nahanni
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1
2 What I want to ask you
3 about is how this map relates to some of the things
4 that are said on page 13, about the purpose of your
5 study, and item 4 -- have you got that on page 13?
6 It says:

7 "To provide the people of Canada with a record
8 of land use and occupancy in the Northwest
9 Territories by people of Dene descent from the
10 distant past down to the present."

11 Does the map reflect what you were able to find out
12 in your study about that subject? Does it go back
13 that far?

14 A Yes.

15 Q All right. What is the
16 "distant past", as long back as anybody you talked
17 to could remember, having been told about?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And I take it that
20 would go back a long, long way, would it not?

21 A The people that we
22 interviewed gave us the routes that they travelled and
23 in telling us about the routes and the trails they
24 travelled, they also mentioned that their fathers and
25 their fathers before them used those trails.

26 Q And did they mention that
27 there were other trails as well that their father and
28 their fathers before them used to use, but which they
29 hadn't used?

30 A Yes.

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Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 MR. SCOTT: I'd like to follow
2 that up, Mr. Steeves, while you're looking at your
3 note. Are those trails shown on the map? I'm sorry.

4 MR. STEEVES: Yes, thank you.

5 MR. SCOTT: Are those trails
6 shown on the map?

7 MR. STEEVES: Well, I guess
8 I can't.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: It doesn't
10 look like it.

11 MR. SCOTT: I'm sorry, I should n't--

12 MR. STEEVES: I'm sorry, could
13 I -- excuse me, Mr. Scott.

14 Q Miss Nahanni, could you,
15 the next page and it's about perhaps a little more
16 than half-way down the page and it starts with:

17 "To show the extent of land use and occupancy
18 we had to gather the following information.

19 A representation on maps of all the lands we
20 have occupied and used for as long as we can
21 remember right to the present."

22 Now, again the map that's on the wall shows that, and
23 going back as far as anybody can remember having been
24 told about. Is that right?

25 A No, the maps show the
26 past and present use of the people who were interviewed.
27 There is a lot of trails that aren't on there, on the
28 map, that is. We only got the trails and routes that
29 the people living today used.

30 MR. BELL: And you didn't
get all them, did you?

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Cross-Exam by Steeves

A No.

MR. STEEVES: Well, that's it.

Then it's not correct to say then that what you
achieved on this map is what's set out in paragraph
4 on page 13, is that right? I'd really like you to
help me with this and I want you to say everything you
can about it so that I can understand what you're
saying to me.

A What it says here is

"To provide the people of Canada with a record
of land use,"

it doesn't say "the record of land use", and occupancy.
It says "a record", an indication.

Q M-hm. But it says,

"From the distant past down to the present."

THE COMMISSIONER: Could I

say -- it's important that I understand this too,
you've all got me confused at this stage. Let me just
see if I understand what this map is. You say you
interviewed 396 people who are actively engaged in
hunting, trapping and fishing. All right now, these
lines on the map and the other symbols show the trap-
lines they have used, the hunting trails they have
followed, the fishing grounds that they have made use
of during their lifetime.

A Yes.

Q Now, the fact is, you
say, and it is something I'm sure all of us would accept,
that those hunting grounds and fishing grounds and

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Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 trapping route were used by their fathers and their
2 grandfathers and their ancestors before them into the
3 distant past. That's so we can take it that that is
4 apparent from the map too.

5 A They are using the same --

6 Q Yes.

7 A -- yes, some of the same
8 routes and trails that their fathers and fathers' fathers
9 used to use.

10 Q Right. Now, you say that
11 there are no doubt other hunting areas and fishing
12 grounds and trapping lines that were used from the
13 distant past that aren't used today and don't appear
14 on this map.

15 A Yes.

16 THE COMMISSIONER:

Right, well that's my
17 understanding of where we've gotten to.

18 MR. SCOTT: I apologize for
19 interrupting Mr. Steeves, but as his cross-examination
20 was completed I assumed he was interrupting me.

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, you
22 never know. Well, does that complete the cross-
23 examination?

24 MR. SCOTT: It does, sir.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Any re-
26 examination?

27 MR. BELL: Yes, just one
28 area.
29
30

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Monicoche, Nahanni
Re-Examination

1 RE-EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL:

2 Q I forget who asked you
3 the question but you were asked to, if we could break
4 down land use that appears on this map or that was
5 researched over a period covering the last five years,
6 and I believe Mr. Scott extended it to ten years, and
7 you said that that ^{couldn't} be done, that information
8 is not available. Is that right?

9 A It could be done but it
10 would be a useless exercise.

11 Q Why is that?

12 A Because like I said in
13 my -- when I started my presentation that what we
14 were trying to show is a way of life that is very
15 ancient, it's very, very old. You cannot base the
16 value of this life by depicting only five years, the
17 last five years. It's ridiculous to even try to tell
18 anybody that the last five years is our way of life.
19 It is a way of life that has evolved over hundreds of
20 years, there have been adaptations and changes made
21 in our behaviour and within our culture, and the
22 changes and the adaptations are still being made
23 today but there's always one very basic or a few
24 basic values, which is very difficult to explain,
25 and this sort of situation. You would have to
26 experience it and you would have to understand the
27 language to understand that. So if the chief or the
28 community leaders asked us to show them the use in
29 the last five years, I would say the same thing, and I
30 would ask them why; but I know that a lot of them

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Memicoche, Nahanni
Re-Examination

1 wouldn't do that because they know more about hunting
2 and trapping than I do. I've just had very limited
3 experience.

4 Q And what about the
5 future, would land use over the last five years give
6 us an adequate starting point inwhich we could get an
7 idea of what the extent of land use would be like in
8 the foreseeable future?

9 A Do you want me to go
10 into detail about that?

11 Q Well, I'm --

12 THE COMMISSIONER: If it's
13 necessary to answer the question, yes.

14 MR. BELL: Yes.

15 A In trying to show the
16 importance that we place on our way of life, and hunting
17 and trapping is part of it, I would like to say that
18 in the last 20 years or so our way of life was really
19 undermined and we've been evaluating this, the last
20 20 years and we find that the situation that we are
21 experiencing now, the impacts or the effects that we
22 are experiencing now is no different from the way the
23 Dene in South America or the Africans in Africa
24 are experiencing the kind of treatment given to them
25 by the white people who come into the country, whether
26 they are looking for oil, whether they are looking for
27 fur, or whether they're looking for minerals.

28 When they came into our
29 land we accepted a lot of things that they did as
30 being their ways. In fact, a lot of white people who

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1 came up here, we saved their lives. There are a lot
2 of stories in the map biographies where trappers tell
3 us that there was a time they remember they saved a
4 certain guy from freezing. We accepted a lot of
5 things, education. We trusted the government with our
6 children but now we find that whatever has happened to
7 us in the last 20 years we don't want to happen for
8 the next 20 years. In other words, what we are under
9 right now, we feel it, is the negative, the bad
10 effects of colonialism and we want for our future to
11 have through a land settlement a future that doesn't
12 include colonialism, a non-colonial future is what
13 we want.
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Pellissey, Nahanni
Re-examination

THE COMMISSIONER: Any further questions?

MR. BELL: Most of the questions have been directed as Miss Nahanni. Perhaps I should ask if any of the other members of the panel have anything else to add?

WITNESS SNOWSHOE: You were asking about a question for the land use in the future, is that right?

Q Yes.

A Well, like I was saying now that the people are sort of realizing what kind of life they've gotten into and I think that I'm not thinking, already I am seeing it change in the trappers attitude in Fort McPherson that they are trying to go back on the land and I think in future and I already seen it. Like I said, I already seen a big difference.

Like the time I flew over last time, boy it's sure nice to see that in the delta region between Aklavik -- between McPherson, Aklavik and Inuvik. There are all kinds of trails. There's no dog team trails, not too much dog team trails, skidoo trails, bar camps being worked at and that shows that the people are interested in getting back into their life and in the future I think there would be more of that.

WITNESS NAHANNI: Mr. Bell, I'd like to make a comment on the use of certain phrases. We understand it that way but because sometimes we don't know how to express ourselves and we -- finally

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Re-examination

1 we're adopting some of the phrases that people are saying
2 but doesn't really express what we want to say. When
3 we say "we're going back to the land", we don't/^{want}that
4 to be regarded as sort of going backwards. What we
5 mean is that we're going to, within the context of
6 our culture, and it's like going home sort of thing
7 where we feel good. We feel like things are clear again
8 for us.

9
10 WITNESS SNOWSHOE: The only
11 thing I can say about that is just that when I'm saying
12 "going back to the land" is just listening to them about
13 this for the last few years that the change in^{life} sort
14 of came upon us and I said this before, and we realize
15 we are realizing now what we are getting into. We got
16 into, and that's my way of thinking. At the time every-
17 thing is sort of changing and I used to say we were
18 sleeping the time government used to, sort of stepped
19 over us.

20 We weren't sleeping. We were
21 out living in the bush and we didn't know what was
22 going on in the community and when we get back into
23 the community we heard a little of this and that and
24 we don't used to stay in the community. One month
25 at^a time, we used to stay there between Christmas and
26 New Year. This is the way it used to be, and about a
27 week after New Year, everybody leaves out of town and
28 then this / ^{business of} a Settlement Council coming into government,
29 putting in a Settlement Council in towns like in
30 Fort McPherson,

I don't know how long it was,

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1 years anyway they had a Settlement Council and they
2 just told us at private meeting, and a lot of things
3 that came into the community that we didn't know nothing
4 about. I'm talking about these laws the game wardens,
5 we used to call them/^{game}warden at that time anyways so
6 he used to make laws we didn't know nothing about.
7 We were just told "You're not supposed to be doing this:
8 You're supposed to have this certain time." Things like
9 that.

10 We didn't know nothing about it
11 because we were out in the bush. NO radio a lot of
12 them days we never even think of radio. Frankly about
13 that time I was talking about my dad and I stayed in
14 delta, we never even have the/^{time}we never/^{even} had a clock, don't
15 need it. This is the way it used to be.

16 All these new things come
17 up upon us I said like education,^{and}/working. We realize
18 now that our way of life was good when we used to stay
19 in the bush. We are trying, we are going back
20 slowly. I mean the future like I said before we're
21 going to see more.

22 That's all I got to say.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I
24 think the panel can be excused then. Maybe I should
25 just say for those of you who are not at the community
26 hearings that/^{at}the community hearings, the native people
27 have presented at each village a map that relates to
28 the hunting and fishing and trapping activities that
29 they have engaged in and still engage in within the
30 territory in the vicinity of their villages and my

Snowshoe, Greenland, Menicoche
Pellissey, Nahanni
Re-examination

understanding is that all of those maps that were presented to the Inquiry in ^{each} village went together to make up this composite map, so I want you to understand that I am bearing in mind not only the evidence of this panel and of this map, but the evidence given by hundreds of people in the villages and the maps presented in those villages as well as the other evidence on these issues presented by the other participants in determining the questions which appear to be in dispute relating to land use and occupancy today.

Mr. Carter of Arctic Gas, Mr. Bell of the Brotherhood, Mr. Bayly of COPE and Mr. Elwood of Foothills and Professor Jackson of the Inquiry staff will know all about what I am saying because they were in the community hearings with me.

So, thank you very much Mr. Snowshoe and Mr. Greenland, Miss Menicoche, Mr. Pellissey and Miss Nahanni and we appreciate very much your presence and we appreciate the discussion that we've had with you.

Did you want to say something sir?

WITNESS PELLISSEY: Thank you very much.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you sir. Thank you very much. I should thank our interpreter Mr. Blondin.

(WITNESSES ASIDE)

THE COMMISSIONER: So, we'll

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adjourn then until 2:00.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2:00 P.M.)

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
ladies and gentlemen, we'll come to order. Are we all
set, Mr. Bell?

MR. BELL: Yes, we are, sir.
I'd like to introduce our next panel, sir. Starting
on the far right is Mr. Michael Asch; next to him is
Mr. John Ritter; next to him is Mr. Scott Rushforth
and then Chief George Kodakin of Fort Franklin; and
Mr. John Tutcho will interpret for Chief Kodakin.

(JOHN GEORGE TUTCHO SWORN AS INTERPRETER)

MICHAEL ASCH, sworn
JOHN THOMAS RITTER, resumed
E. SCOTT RUSHFORTH, sworn
CHIEF GEORGE KODAKIN, resumed

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL:

Q Perhaps I could start
with you, Mr. Asch. Oh, I should say that the way that
I would propose to proceed with this panel is to have
Mr. Rushforth speak to the study that he did and has
been distributed, and have Chief Kodakin give his
testimony, which should be fairly brief; and at that
point ask counsel if they have any cross-examination
of Chief Kodakin to ask their questions then so that
the chief can get away, and then proceed with the
reading of the rest of the evidence.

Mr. Asch, you are an assistant
professor in the Department of Anthropology at the
University of Alberta.

Asch, Ritter, Rushforth, Kodakin
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WITNESS ASCH: Yes.

Q You have a B.A. from the
University of Chicago and a Ph.D. from Columbia
University.

A That is right.

Q I understand from 1967
to 1968 you were a teaching assistant in the Department
of Anthropology at Columbia University.

A That's true.

Q During that time you
worked in association with Dr. Margaret Meade.

A Yes, that's true.

Q From 1958 to 1971 you
were a Pre-Doctoral Research Fellow at the National
Institute of Mental Health.

A That's right.

Q Where is that?

A That's in Washington,
actually that's a grant from a granting agency and I
held a fellowship at Columbia.

Q And from 1971 to the
present you have held your present position.

A That's correct.

Q You're a member of the
Canadian Sociological & Anthropological Association.

A That's correct.

Q You are a Fellow of the
American Anthropological Association.

A That's correct.

Asch, Ritter, Rushforth, Kodakin
In Chief

1 Q You are a Fellow of the
2 Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and
3 Northern Ireland.

4 A That's right.

5 Q You're a member of the
6 Society for Ethnomusicology.

7 A Yes.

8 Q And a member of the
9 Canadian Ethnology Society.

10 A Ethnological Society.

11 Q And you're the author
12 of the publications listed on page 2 of the appendix
13 to your testimony.

14 A Yes, I am.

15 Q Turning to you, Mr.
16 Ritter, you're a linguist and curriculum specialist
17 for the Department of Education, for the Government of
18 the Yukon Territory.

19 WITNESS RITTER: That's
20 correct.

21 Q You obtained a B.A. from
22 Michigan State University, a Bachelor of Science from
23 Michigan State University, and you worked from 1966
24 to 1970 towards a doctoral degree at Massachusetts
25 Institute of Technology.

26 A That is correct.

27 Q The appendix to Mr.
28 Ritter's testimony indicates that he has received his
29 Ph.D., that's in error. From 1970 to 1975 you were an
30 assistant professor in the Department of Linguistics

Asch, ~~Ritter~~, ~~Rushforth~~ Kodakin
In Chief

1 at Michigan State University.

2 A That's true.

3 Q From 1975 to the
4 present you have held your present position.

5 A Yes.

6 Q And during the period
7 1973 to 1975 you were a consultant to the native
8 language program in the Department of Education for
9 the Government of the Northwest Territories.

10 A That was on a periodic
11 basis; that wasn't continuous.

12 Q And you are the recipient
13 and holder of the awards and appointments listed in
14 the appendix to your testimony.

15 A That's correct.

16 Q And you are the author of
17 the publications and papers listed in the appendix to
18 your testimony.

19 A Yes.

20 Q Mr. Rushforth, you're
21 a teaching associate at the Department of Anthropol-
22 ogy at the University of Arizona.

23 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Yes.

24 Q You have a B.A. from the
25 University of Utah, an M.A. from the University of
26 Arizona, and a Ph.D. from the University of Arizona.

27 A I am now a candidate
28 for a Ph. D. from the University of Arizona.

29 Q From 1971 to 1972 you
30 were a research assistant with the Bureau of Ethnic

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Research of the Department of Anthropology at the
University of Arizona.

A Yes.

Q In 1973 you were a
research associate in the Department of Anthropology
at the University of Arizona.

A Yes.

Q And you've held your
present position since last year.

A That's true.

(QUALIFICATIONS & EVIDENCE OF M. ASCH, T. RITTER, S.
RUSHFORTH MARKED EXHIBIT 605)

Q You are a member of the
American Anthropological Association?

A Yes.

Q You're the author of
the research report, "Recent Land^{Use} by the Great Bear Lake
Indians"?

A Yes.

Q Chief Kodakin, I believe
has appeared previously at this Inquiry. I'd like to
call on you then Mr. Rushforth to start off.

A The report which I'm going
to read today is entitled "Recent Land Use by the Great
Bear Lake Indians".

The purposes of this report
are to document the extent and intensity of recent land
use by the Great Bear Lake people and to discuss and
interpret such land use by placing it within appropriate
historical, cultural and social contexts. The
first of these is accomplished by describing briefly
each of the major kinds of land use activities by provid-
ing various --

MR. STEEVES: I beg your pardon
sir. Excuse me Mr. Commissioner. I wonder if my
friend could tell me, has this been circulated?

MR. BELL: The report that
Mr. Rushforth did is in your hands Mr. Steeves. I be-
lieve he's just making some preliminary comments.

MR. STEEVES: Thank you very
much. I'm sorry to interrupt, sir.

A -- by describing briefly

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each of the major kinds of activities and by providing various numerical indices of such activities. Such indices are presented in the report submitted to the Commission, however, I will not read through the appropriate tables and figures today but will merely summarize my findings verbally.

The second of these is accomplished by providing, some of the necessary historical, cultural and social information required for a more complete understanding of recent land use by the Bear Lake people.

Before doing this, let me say something briefly about my methodology. In order to obtain data required for this paper, a combination of techniques was employed which included, 1. survey research, 2. intensive interviews with selected individuals and, 3. a review of pertinent records and literature. In addition, I have relied upon my own observation and experiences among the Bear Lake people during the period of May 1974 to July 1975 to aid in the interpretation and understanding of their use of the land.

The survey portion of this research was conducted in January, February and March of 1975 when it was possible to interview 52 of 54 adult male household heads living at Bear Lake during the past five years. Adult male household heads were chosen for this survey since in most instances these are the individuals who provide household income. Also when women go to the bush, it is normally with their husbands.

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When young men go to the bush it is normally with their fathers or grandfathers.

For example, in August of 1974, on the community caribou hunt, 18 of the adult male household heads who participated in that hunt were accompanied by their wives , older sons and younger children. Further, whenever a man sets nets at Fort Franklin, his sons or his grandsons will also check those nets with him. This means that although women and unmarried men were not interviewed regarding their recent land use activities, the indices in this paper provide a relatively accurate representation of land use by families at Bear Lake. It would be appropriate if, when the index is constructed using "adult male household heads as basic units," the reader will interpret this to mean "number of family units".

I'll now to turn to a basic description of land use activities among the Bear Lake people.

Trapping. Mid-October to Christmas and January to February are the times for trapping around the Great Bear Lake. The most intensive period of trapping is during November and December with fewer men going to the bush after the New Year. At the Bear Lake, the most important fur bearing animal is the marten with fox, lynx and other animals also of importance.

When a man from Fort Franklin goes into the bush to trap now-a-days, he normally leaves his family behind in Fort Franklin and travels with a

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friend or relative. He must outfit himself with traps, clothing, snow shoes, guns, both a .22 and a 30-30, a tent and stove, a bed roll, a snowmobile or dogs, a toboggan, a fish net, sundry tools and utensils and food, especially tea, flour, sugar and lard. His total investment will normally be in excess of \$1,800.

Bear Lake men do not of course make this total investment every trapping season as many of their goods are usable for a number of years. It is very important to realize, however that the cost of capital goods required by them for their subsistence activities is very high. The fact that Bear Lake men continue to invest in such capital goods is in itself, an index of the importance to them of a bush oriented life.

Along the same line, it is essential to note that many Bear Lake men view wage labor not as a permanent alternative to traditional land use activities but solely as a means of obtaining the tools they require in the bush. As one man put it, "I'm not working for money but for a boat and ticker so that I can feed my family."

In addition to those men at Fort Franklin who trap on a full-time basis, there a number of men who have jobs or some other reason for remaining in Fort Franklin who trap part-time. These men usually have a snowmobile for rapid transportation to their week-end camps and traplines which extend as far as 30 miles from Fort Franklin. By trapping every week-end, they are able to supplement their wage labor

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incomes with some fur sales, catch a few rabbits with snares, shoot a few ptarmigan or grouse and bag an occasional woodland caribou, at ^{least} three during the winter under consideration.

Perhaps more important than this however, these men, through such activity remain attached to a bush oriented lifestyle. Such part-time trapping makes the Fort Franklin region quite important in terms of overall trapping.

Other areas which have been trapped extensively during the last five years include the Edacho- Mackintosh Bay - Tuitatui region, the Johnny Hoe River region and the Whitefish River region. You can locate those regions on the map on page 38 of the text which has been handed to you.

If a man is using dogs while trapping, he will normally leave Fort Franklin somewhat earlier than if he has a snowmobile and will set his camp near ^a fish lake such as Tuitatui or near the mouth of a river such as Johnny Hoe River. In this way, he can set nets, take advantage of the late October runs of whitefish and be assured of food for both himself and his dogs.

The length of time he keeps his nets in the water depends upon the productivity of his nets and upon his own requirements in the bush. His own needs depend upon how many dogs he has and upon the length of his stay on the trapline.

He will keep his nets in the water until he has enough fish for himself and his dogs and

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perhaps to send a number of fish back to Fort Franklin.
For example, men who trapped at Johnny Hoe River in
November and December of 1974 fished long enough to
feed themselves and at least twelve dogs and to send
approximately 1,000 whitefish, that is, over 3,000
pounds of whitefish back to Fort Franklin.

In addition to fishing while
on their traplines, men are able to spend time hunting
for moose and woodland caribou. Of course, whenever
men check their traps, they carry a gun with them. In
this way, during the 1974-75 trapping season, at
least ten woodland caribou and four moose, in addition
to those caribou killed by part-time trappers were taken
by the Bear Lake people.

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1.2. Caribou hunting.

Traditionally, Bear Lake people relied upon caribou, especially the barren ground caribou, for a large portion of their food as well as for many of their technological needs. Hides were used for clothing, tents, bed rolls, babiche, and for many other things. Caribou bone was used to make many different kinds of tools. Today the Bear Lake people utilize western clothing, shelters, and tools. However, caribou is still essential as a source of food and as a source of hides for mittens, footwear, babiche, and handicrafts.

There are essentially two kinds of caribou hunting which take place at Bear Lake today:

- (1) community-organized hunts for barren ground caribou during the spring and summer and
- (2) individually organized hunts for both species of caribou at all times of the year.

Community organized barren ground caribou hunts, which have been supported by Game Management, Government of the Northwest Territories, have occurred in February and March and in August during the years under consideration and have normally lasted from three weeks to one month. Spring caribou hunts have been by snowmobile and dog team to the Hottah Lake and the Caribou Point regions at the east end of the lake, with the exceptions to this in 1971 and 1972 when men from Fort Franklin joined men from Fort Norman on hunts to the Colville Lake and Kilekale Lake regions respectively. Summer caribou hunts have been by canoe to the North Shore of Great Bear Lake.

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1 During the spring and summer
2 hunts, men shoot caribou for both the community freezer
3 and for themselves. Community meat is transported
4 by bombardier, by the community's large fishing boat,
5 and by chartered aircraft. Individual hunter's meat
6 is transported by the hunter in his own toboggan or
7 canoe.

8 In February and March of 1975
9 two trips to the east end of the lake for caribou were
10 made. The first of these was to Caribou Point for
11 ten days and involved five men. The second was to the
12 Fort Radium region for three weeks and involved 27
13 men. On these hunts, Bear Lake people took at least
14 165 barren ground caribou and three moose. Approxi-
15 mately 90 of the caribou were placed in the community
16 freezer for distribution among all of the Bear Lake
17 people with the remaining 75 going to individual
18 hunters' families.

19 During August, 1974, approxi-
20 mately 25 men (many of them with their wives and
21 children) went to McGill Bay on the North Shore of the
22 lake to participate on the summer hunt. Not only was
23 this hunt viewed as a chance to obtain food, but also
24 as an opportunity for many of the men to take their
25 families out onto the land. While men went hunting
26 each day, women remained in camp to scrape and tan
27 hides, to make dry meat, and to tell stories to their
28 children. When all of the men went out together for
29 two days' hunting, 50 miles east of McGill Bay, women
30 and children took over the entire operation of the camp,

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including getting firewood and hunting some ptarmigan. In all, approximately 120 caribou were taken in spite of the fact that hunting was cut short by a week or ten days.

Individually organized caribou hunting for both barren ground caribou and woodland caribou takes place very frequently among the Bear Lake people. Two, three, four or more men will hunt together on their own initiative at places all around the Bear Lake. In summer, men take advantage of the fact that woodland caribou often come down to the shore of the Bear Lake to escape from flies and mosquitoes in the bush. While travelling along the shore in canoes, towards Grizzly Bear Mountain, for example, men can hunt these caribou very conveniently. By taking their fishing poles along with them on such trips men can bring back to their families 10 or 20 lake trout, in addition to or in place of caribou. At least six woodland caribou were taken in this way during the summer of 1974 prior to the community hunt.

Individually organized caribou hunting also takes place during the fall and winter while men are trapping. When checking their traps, men often run across fresh caribou tracks and if weather conditions are right, immediately set out after the caribou. If they are able to shoot an animal, trappers eat some of the meat themselves but send much of it back to Fort Franklin to feed their families.

Spring beaver hunting. During May men from Fort Franklin go to the inland rivers and lakes to hunt with .22s for beaver and muskrat. On the

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spring beaver hunt, they can get fur to sell and there is plenty of meat to eat. Camp is not necessarily set near a fish lake, since there are beaver, muskrats and waterfowl for food. Meat which is not consumed in the bush is dried and brought back to Fort Franklin in pack sacks.

Areas which have been very important for spring beaver hunting during the five years under consideration, include the Tuitatui region, the Whitefish River region, the Johnny Hoe River region, and the Porcupine River region.

When men go on the spring beaver hunt at the 1st of May they are able to travel easily since snow and mud in the bush, regardless of any melting that might occur during the day, freeze solidly each evening. By the end of May, however, snow is gone from the bush and travel is normally by foot along wet trails. While in the bush, some men build small "rat" canoes for hunting along creeks and use these for their trip home. Even then, however, travel is more difficult than in the winter.

Fishing. Fishing is and has always been a major source of food for the Bear Lake people. For eight or nine months of the year, depending upon ice conditions, they are able to set nets and catch very large numbers of lake trout, whitefish, herring and grayling. Such fish are used for human consumption, but also provide the bulk of food for dogs. The amount of fishing a man does is tied to both his own needs and the number of dogs he

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owns; the more dogs he has, the longer he will keep his nets in the water.

Fishing while trapping has already been described above. Such fishing occurs at Johnny Hoe River, Mackintosh Bay, Deerpass Bay, Good Hope Bay, and fish lakes such as White Water Lily Lake, Tuitatui, and Lost Hill Lake. Late October, November and December are the months of the year for this fishing and it is primarily for whitefish.

Fishing in the Great Bear Lake in the vicinity of Fort Franklin occurs throughout the entire year except during the times of freezeup and breakup. Men fish at Fort Franklin primarily for lake trout and herring. During the months from December to May men fish for trout and herring under the ice using gill nets for both kinds of fish, and set hooks for trout. Trout productivity is down during these months but large numbers of herring are caught by men setting nets near the mouth of the Great Bear River which remains free of ice throughout the winter.

During May those men who have nets under the ice watch the ice and weather closely so they can remove their nets before the ice gets too thin and breaks up. Men with nets by the Bear River -- by the mouth of the Bear River must take them out relatively early since flowing water there melts the ice quickly. But by the 1st or middle of June, all nets and hooks are out of the water and ice is rapidly leaving the lake. By early July the ice is normally gone and men reset their nets in the open water.

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1 From July to September trout
2 productivity is up and men catch hundreds of these
3 large fish in nets and on hook lines. Herring nets are
4 set close to the shore, but fewer of these fish are
5 caught than in the winter. During this time men also fish
6 nowadays for trout and grayling with rod and reel.
7 In July especially, a trip to the Bear River by canoe
8 can result in 50 or 100 grayling. Trolling for lake
9 trout within 10 or 15 miles of Fort Franklin is not
10 only enjoyable but normally results in 10 or 20 fish
11 per boat.

12 Bear Lake people also make
13 seasonal trips to places such as Deerpass Bay, Russell Bay,
14 Caribou Point, and Johnny Hoe River for the purpose of
15 setting nets and establishing fish camps. All of these
16 places were very important to the Bear Lake people in
17 the past, as were such places as Bydand Bay, Mackintosh
18 Bay, Dease Bay and Sawmill Bay, as fisheries and
19 as locales of relatively continuous occupation and use.
20 During trips to these places men can catch hundreds of
21 fish in a very short time. For example, in June of 1974
22 men went by snowmobile to Russell Bay, set three or
23 four nets for three days, and returned to Fort
24 Franklin with approximately 1,000 trout and whitefish.

If a man and his family set up a fish camp in one of these places, they can dry a great quantity of fish during their stay.

Moose hunting. Moose hunting among the Bear Lake people takes place most often while men are trapping or caribou hunting. However, men also go to the bush specifically to hunt moose during the fall and winter. In September of 1974, for example, six men made a five day trip to Grizzly Bear Mountain to hunt moose and set nets. They returned with two moose, a load of fish and about 100 ducks. In February of 1975, at least five trips for moose were made around the Bear River and towards Whitefish River. On these Hunts, seven moose were taken. In all, 17 moose were taken by the Bear Lake people during the year of 1974 to 1975.

Areas around the Bear Lake which are used for moose hunting include Johnny Hoe River, Grizzly Bear Mountain, the Great Bear River, Porcupine River and Whitefish River.

Bird hunting. Great Bear Lake people although not relying to any great extent upon bird hunting, do take a certain number of ducks, ptarmigan and grouse for food. Such birds provide a welcome break from their normal diet of fish, caribou, and store bought food. An estimate of the number of birds taken during the year of 1974-75 is as follows:

Ducks:	between 1500 and 2000
Ptarmigan	750 to 1100
Grouse	250 to 350

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THE COMMISSIONER: Mr.

Rushforth, you said that there were 54 families in Fort Franklin. How many people are there all told in Fort Franklin?

A The population fluctuates as students come and go, but approximately 400 would be an average figure. There are actually 64 households at Fort Franklin during the time of my survey. I interviewed 52 of the 54 adult male household heads.

THE COMMISSIONER: There are some widows and so forth, I take it?

A Yes. Actually, let me modify that. Adult male household heads would live at Bear Lake during the past five years. There were two or three men, heads of households, who were away from Bear Lake during this period and moved to Bear Lake only subsequently.

Q So you say the population of the village is approximately 400. Students coming and going, you mean the students going to Inuvik to school in winter and that sort of thing?

A Yes, that sort of thing. I'll now discuss trends in participation by Bear Lake people in traditional land use activities during the years 1970-71 to 1974-75.

It is important at this point to summarize verbally some of the information contained within the numerical indices descriptive of recent land use among the Bear Lake people which accompany the submitted version of my report. Certain facts regarding

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such
land use activities become apparent immediately.

First, although the number of men who trap each year has remained relatively constant, there has been a slight decline in the number of fur bearing animals taken during those years.

Second, there has been a significant increase during the five years covered by this report in the number of men participating in community organized caribou hunts.

Third, there has been a recent decline in the number of men participating in the spring beaver hunt.

Fourth, there has been no significant change in the number of men fishing during the five year period.

Finally, and most important, there has been no significant general or overall downward trend during the years 1970-71 to 1974-75 in the participation by Bear Lake men in traditional land use activities.

Rather than discuss each of these ^{facts} individually, which is done in the report submitted to the Commission, I will address myself here to the final point above, which is the fact that there has been no general or overall decrease in the numbers of Bear Lake men participating in traditional land use activities. Based upon the indices in this paper, Bear Lake people are simply not abandoning their traditional means of making a living.

The index upon which I base

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this statement is summarized in table 1.7-A which is constructed as follows:

Since each man in the survey sample of which there were 52 could possibly participate in four different kinds of primary land use activity each year, there is a total of 208, that is, 52 times 4, possible units of land use activity for possible male household heads during any given year. By totalling the number of different kinds of activities in which these men in fact participated during a given year, and computing that figure as a percentage of the total possible units of activity, one attains a figure which can be used as an index of general or overall traditional land use at Bear Lake.

By computing such percentages for each of the five years under consideration general trends in traditional land use at Bear Lake can be discovered. According to this index, there has been no significant downward trend in land use activities among the Bear Lake people. Rather, comparing the year 1970-71 to the year 1974-75, there is actually a slight increase.

I'll now discuss the area of land used by the Bear Lake people during this period of time.

The most important ^{point} to establish regarding the area of land used by the Bear Lake people is as follows.

Although the Bear Lake people

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no longer live in small, dispersed groups throughout their land at places such as Johnny Hoe River, Caribou Point, Deas Bay, Bydand Bay and Mackintosh Bay, they continue to use all of these and other locations for their hunting, trapping and fishing. At many of these locations, cabins have been built and camps are maintained for seasonal use throughout the year.

For example, at Johnny Hoe River, there are six cabins which are used every year during the trapping season, during the spring beaver hunt and during major fish runs. Reiterating to some extent, the Great Bear Lake people continue to use the entire area of land inhabited by their ancestors and by themselves only 25 years ago. Every year, Bear Lake people have trapped throughout their land, hunted caribou at the North Shore, and around Hottah Lake and fished at Fort Franklin, Deerpass Bay, Johnny Hoe River and Mackintosh Bay.

The data upon which I based this statement is presented in ^{the} submitted version of this paper in map and table form and requires very little additional interpretation. It is important to emphasize, however that the data summarized there represents a five year period only and must be viewed in light as two important facts which influence the way in which Bear Lake people use their land.

First, different kinds of animals and fish occur in different places at different times of the year and, second, animal and fish populations vary according to natural cycles and human exploitation

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at any given location. By merely recording those locations at which the Bear Lake people have engaged in traditional land use activities during a five year period, this paper is, in all probability, not representing the total area of land used by the Bear Lake people.

For example, men have not hunted intensively for beaver in the Porcupine River area during the last three or four years. The reason for this however, is because a number of men hunted there for three or four successive years immediately preceding this period. Since the data which was collected ^{does} not accurately represent the manner in which Bear Lake men have allowed this and other areas to remain fallow during these five years, the total pattern or system of land use at Bear Lake cannot be depicted by this data alone. However, data reported here does provide some idea of the distances Bear Lake people travel in order to distribute their efforts over their land.

Referring ^{to} the map and table and also to the map on the board, I can simply say that all of the major trails around Bear Lake are not only used and have been used during the past five years, but all of the areas to which those trails lead have been used in subsistence activities.

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.
Have you examined this map and --

A Yes, I'm talking about the major trails.

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Q That are depicted on this map that Miss Nahanni was showing us?

A Yes, it's in the Bear Lake country. Yes. In fact, I was able to accompany a number of Bear Lake men on most of those major trails while at Bear Lake during that period of time.

I'll now turn to an estimate of income derived from the land by the Bear Lake people during the year 1974-75. It is difficult to estimate with a high degree of accuracy the amount of income people derive from hunting, fishing, trapping --

Q Sorry, I'm awfully sorry. What page are we on now?

A Page forty of the original.

Q O.K.

A To make such estimates requires among other things, 1. detailed records of production, exchange and consumption for extended periods of time and 2. a means of converting income derived from such activities to some common scale of value such as dollars per unit. Both of these requirements present difficulties or problems.

In the first place, unlike income from wage labor, it is hard to keep track of all of the income people derive from traditional land use activities. More or less accurate estimates of this are all that can be hoped for.

In the second place, conversions to common scales of value inevitably result in the

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loss of information, information which might be vital to the understanding of particular activities. That is, part of the value of a particular land use activity might be obscured by measuring the utility of that activity on a single perhaps inappropriate scale.

For example, measuring the value of caribou hunting according to the dollars per pound of caribou might obscure part of the true value and motivations for caribou hunting by native peoples. Anthropologists have long known that measuring the utility of activities in other cultures by western dollars is less than satisfactory. With these warnings, I make in the submitted version of this report an attempt to estimate the amount of income derived from their land by the Bear Lake people during the year from June 1974 to May 1975. I do this in two ways.

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1 First an estimate of the dollar
2 value of products derived from traditional activities
3 by adult male household heads at Bear Lake is provided.

4 Second, an estimate of the
5 amount of food which Bear Lake people derived from
6 their land during this period as a percentage of the
7 total amount of food which they required during the
8 same period is computed. Through these two estimations
9 can be obtained some idea of the western dollar value
10 of recent land use at Bear Lake. In the final section of
11 this paper aspects of the additional value of these
12 traditional activities to the Bear Lake people will be
13 considered.

14 To determine the dollar value
15 of traditional economic activities for the 1974-75
16 period an estimate of the amount of edible food
17 derived from the land is made and to this amount is
18 assigned a dollar value; income from the fur trade is
19 then added, and these two figures are totalled. In as-
20 signing a dollar value to food from the land, the
21 replacement value, or subsistence value, substitute
22 value^{that} is the cost in dollars of replacing that food
23 with food obtained from other non-traditional sources,
24 (for example the Hudson's Bay Company) of that food is
25 used. I do this in spite of the fact that caribou, for
26 example, has several characteristics which make it
27 even more valuable than the beef it replaces:
28 (1) caribou meat is invariably preferred by the Bear
29 Lake people as a food over beef (both in taste and in
30 the fact that it is considered native as opposed to

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1 white grub.

2 (2) caribou has a higher protein/^{content}per unit than beef

3 (3) caribou (and other meat from the land) could be more
4 important to the diet of the Bear Lake people since
5 it is often replaced, not by protein rich food such as
6 beef, but by foods high in carbohydrates.

7 Concerning my use of replacement
8 value in assigning dollar value to this income, I
9 believe that Dr. Asch is going to discuss this idea in
10 some detail in his report. Let me say one thing
11 here, however, regarding the use of Gemini North of
12 what might be called local exchange value as a means
13 of assigning dollar value. I think the best thing that
14 can be said about local exchange value is summarized
15 by Gemini North themselves, who say, and I quote:

16 "These figures underestimate, under-rate,
17 excuse me, the importance of kind income
18 as a supplement to cash income. In fact if
19 these relatively inexpensive food resources
20 were not available, it would be extremely
21 difficult for many native families to
22 afford a store bought substitute at substan-
23 tially higher prices."

24 The only thing I would say to modify that is it would
25 not only be extremely difficult but perhaps impossible.

26 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
27 I didn't follow that. Would you mind reading that again?
28 I'm sorry, it's my fault.

29 A O.K., Dr. Asch is going
30 to talk about the use of replacement values.

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1 Q Right, I understand
2 replacement values.

3 A Gemini North used an
4 exchange value.

5 Q What you could sell it for
6 in the village?

7 A What one Bear Laker would
8 sell caribou meat to another Bear Laker.

9
10 Q Oh, yes.

11 A I believe that's the
12 figure they used in assigning a dollar value to
13 caribou meat, for example.

14 Q Gemini North in its
15 report.

16 A Yes, and I think the
17 best criticism of that is provided by their own
18 report where they say that this substantially under-
19 estimates the value of such local food resources.
20 I'll say something about this in a minute when I turn
21 to the final section of my report which talks about
22 some of the additional values that Bear Lake has
23 assigned to traditional land use activities.

24 Q O.K., well I understand
25 the difference between replacement value and local
26 exchange value, so we can press on.

27 A Regarding the
28 second estimate of income from the land, that is
29 an estimate of the percent of the contribution of
30 country food to the total requirements of the Bear Lake

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1 people and their dogs, I will simply provide a
2 maximum and minimum estimate for food requirements
3 and compare those against maximum and minimum figures
4 for food obtained from the land. I recognize that
5 this provides only a crude measurement since among
6 other things, nutritional factors are neglected entirely.
7 However, by providing such figures some information
8 regarding the importance of traditional food production
9 to the Bear Lake people will be conveyed.

10 In the submitted version of
11 my report, using the replacement value of food obtained
12 from the land and including income obtained from the
13 fur trade, it is estimated that the equivalent of
14 between 223,000 and \$261,000 in income is derived from
15 their land by the Bear Lake people during the year
16 1974-75. This figure can be broken down and re-stated
17 in terms of per household income and per capita income.
18 The average income derived from traditional land use
19 activities by Bear Lake Indian households for the year
20 1974-75 was between \$3,500 and \$4,100. This estimate
21 is obtained by dividing the total number of native
22 households at Fort Franklin, which is 64, into the
23 estimate of total income. This figure for the number
24 of households at Fort Franklin includes, in addition
25 to those surveyed, households headed by women (widows,
26 for example) and by men who have not resided at Bear
27 Lake continually for the last five years. It is imperat-
28 ive to recognize that through the complex of reciprocal
29 exchange relationships among the Bear Lake people, all
30 of these households share in income derived from

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1 traditional land use activities. Per capita income
2 derived from traditional land use activities for this
3 period was between \$630 and \$750. This figure is obtained
4 by dividing the total resident native population, that
5 is by dividing the total number of individuals comprising
6 all 64 households into the estimated total income. The
7 significance of such income becomes clear when it is
8 compared to government estimates of household and per
9 capita income for the people living at Fort Franklin
10 and throughout the north.

11 Looking at the product of land
12 use activity by the Bear Lake people through the
13 second measure defined above, it is estimated that
14 between 25 to 40% of their foodstuffs were, during the
15 year under consideration, obtained through traditional
16 land use pursuits.

17 I'll now turn to a discussion
18 recent and interpretation of land use by the Bear Lake people.
19 Having attempted to document the extent and intensity
20 of land use by the Bear Lake people, in this section
21 I will attempt to interpret such land use by outlining
22 something of the historical and cultural context within
23 which it occurs. If the Bear Lake people use their
24 land less than did their ancestors, we should attempt
25 to explain this fact by placing it within its historical
26 context. If there is some other scale of values against
27 which their land use should be measured, we should
28 attempt to discover this scale by looking within the
29 Great Bear Lake culture.

30 Individuals and
which
organizations, support industrial development of the

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1 Northwest Territories, allege that native people no
2 longer make their living from the land and that changes
3 in the north must necessarily be towards a wage labor
4 economy. Development, it is argued, is required for
5 the new opportunities for income which it will provide.
6 In this section I will discuss current land use at
7 Bear Lake somewhat more abstractly than in the
8 previous section. I will make a couple of points
9 regarding historical events at Bear Lake and cultural
10 values among the Bear Lake people. This will provide
11 a means of understanding the extent and intensity of
12 the recent and present use of the land. After consider-
13 ing these points it should be possible to better
14 evaluate statements by groups arguing the case for
15 development in the north. It is essential to summarize
16 a few historical events that have occurred at Bear
17 Lake in order to provide a context within which to
18 interpret their recent land use.

19 The point to be made is this.

20 As a percentage of their total income, the Bear Lake
21 people actually derive less of their livelihood from
22 their land than did their ancestors. However, the
23 reasons for or causes of this fact reside outside of
24 the traditional Bear Lake environment and socio-
25 cultural system. The question which must be asked is
26 this: Is it reasonable to justify (without support from
27 native peoples) further development in the north by
28 citing the existence of conditions which were in fact
29 created by previous development?

30 Traditionally the Bear Lake

1 people have always been hunters and fishermen who
2 lived exclusively off of their land. The most important
3 food resources were, and continue to be, barren ground
4 caribou, woodland caribou, moose, lake trout, whitefish,
5 herring and grayling. It is clear that the Bear Lake
6 people traditionally organized their yearly socio-
7 economic cycle so as to strategically exploit these
8 resources. For example, so as to strategically exploit
9 migrations of the barren ground caribou and runs of the
0 various fish populations. People lived in much smaller
1 (localized and kin-related) groups in the past and were
2 mobile enough so as to establish camps wherever important
3 resources were abundant. If a group of Bear Lake people
4 were living at a fish camp at Mackintosh Bay and re-
5 ceived word of a large caribou herd on the North Shore,
6 they could pack up all of their essential belongings
7 and move there to hunt almost immediately. Flexibility
8 in group organization and economic scheduling, coupled
9 with abundant animal resources and a strategic
0 knowledge of those resources gave the Bear Lake people
1 a great deal of security in a land which is less than
2 hospitable to outsiders.

When white men came to the north looking for fur, they offered the Bear Lake people certain material items which could make life even more secure and somewhat easier for them -- tea, flour, sugar, lard, guns, metal axes, metal ice chisels, gill nets and canvas tents were among the most important of these. In return for these goods, Bear Lake people furnished the white traders with meat and fur they

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1 requested. The effect of this trading relationship
2 upon the Dene way of life has been discussed by
3 other writers. I believe Dr. Asch will discuss this
4 further today.

5 Among the effects most widely
6 mentioned are those which relate to the changes in the
7 seasonal socio-economic cycle and increased emphasis
8 on individuality and production -- through introduction
9 of the gun, gill net and traplines, and the establish-
10 ment of a dependency upon the western market economy.
11 Whatever the truth of these matters is, it is clear that
12 the Bear Lake people became more and more dependent
13 upon the goods which the traders had to offer -- tea,
14 flour, sugar, guns and so on, which were luxury items
15 to begin with, almost immediately become basic necessi-
16 ties. Through their continual demand for these things,
17 Bear Lake people were locked into a trading economy
18 and lost a good deal of the flexibility which previously
19 characterized their socio-economic system. When white goods
20 became necessities, Bear Lake people could no longer
21 afford not to engage in the fur trade. Their subsistence
22 choices were changed or restricted by conditions
23 established by the white traders.

24 After contact during the period
25 of time from 1800 to 1950 when the Bear Lake people settled
26 at Fort Franklin, during this period of time the people
27 hunted and fished and trapped at all of the places
28 mentioned in the first section of this paper. People
29 from Bear Lake also travelled to Rae, Coppermine, the
30 Mackenzie Mountains and Fort Good Hope while making

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1 their living. For the most part, however, they stayed
2 within their own land and traded at Fort Norman,
3 or one of the various posts established intermittently
4 at the Great Bear Lake.
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In 1920, oil was discovered at Norman Wells a little over 100 miles from the Bear Lake. In 1921 and 1922, the Bear Lake people signed Treaty 11 at Fort Norman where they traded during the summer. In the early 1930's, silver and uraniam were discovered at what became Port Radium. By the 1950's a church, a Hudson's Bay store, a school and a nursing station had all been built at Fort Franklin.

During the '50's essentially all of the Bear Lake people settled relatively permanently at Fort Franklin, a site traditionally used as a meeting place and important fishery by these people. As had the introduction of the fur trade, the settlement at Fort Franklin restricted the socio-economic system of these people and reduced even more the flexibility in their traditional subsistence pattern.

The reasons people give for moving into Fort Franklin vary, however, many people mention the availability of services provided by the church, schools and the store as having been an important consideration in their thinking. A particular importance apparently was the school. People knew and were told by the government that their children had to attend school. If a couple's children are not in school, that family could not receive pensions and assistance from the government. Faced by the decision between 1. leaving their children at Fort Franklin during the year, thereby losing the companionship and support of their children in the bush or 2. settling at

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eventually
Fort Franklin, all of the Bear Lake people chose the
latter.

Now when men go to the bush
they normally leave behind their wives so that their
children will be cared for.

It should also be mentioned
that during this period, the late '40's and '50's,
the government conducted a massive tuberculosis eradica-
tion program which included sending many men and women
outside to Edmonton. This of course, confined many
households to the settlement. Families couldn't or
didn't want to go the bush without their relatives and
when those relatives returned from the hospital, many
couldn't work full-time on the land. No one can
deny for this program of the tuberculosis eradication.
However, it should be remembered that tuberculosis among
the Dene resulted, in the first place, from contact
with white people . If tuberculosis contributed
directly or indirectly to permanent settlement at Fort
Franklin, this is another influence upon the Bear Lake
people by forces outside of their own socio-cultural
system.

Whatever the immediate reasons
people give for having settled at Fort Franklin, it is
apparent that the ultimate reasons or causes stem from
forces outside of the traditional Bear Lake socio-
cultural system. Settlement at Franklin was the result
of technological, economic, social and political pressures
which accompany contact with the dominant white society.
Since moving to Franklin, the Bear Lake people have faced

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many changes in their way of life.

Children have been educated in a white school system. English has been learned by many of the people. Band and hamlet councils have been established. Freight coming into Franklin has increased tremendously. A co-op store has been organized. Rental housing has been built, and wage labor has increased.

In spite of all these changes, most of which are in the material or technological realm, the Bear Lake people retain much of their traditional culture and most of their traditional values. When organizing their way of living, the Bear Lake people rely, for the most part upon their own cultural knowledge and their own values, not those of white society.

By viewing recent land use of the Bear Lake people within this briefly sketched context, it is easier to understand what is occurring now. Of particular interest are changes which have taken place in the socio-economic cycle and settlement pattern at Bear Lake. Many anthropologists feel that a group social organization and settlement pattern can be considered an adaption to their environment and technology. That is, the demands of the particular environment and a particular technology affect certain organizational requirements which lead to the development among the people of a particular social organization and settlement pattern.

Put another way, anthropologists have emphasized the importance of socio-cultural solutions to problems or pressures engendered by a particular

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technological system within a particular environment. Faced by the problem of making a living in their land, the Bear Lake people efficiently solved this problem by developing a particular kind of flexible social organization and mobile settlement pattern. By doing so, they were able to exploit very efficiently all of the animal resources within their land.

Since 1950, through the imposition of the new settlement pattern upon the Bear Lake people, that is, permanent residence at Fort Franklin, western society has undermined an efficient socio-cultural solution to the problems of exploiting the fish and animal resources of the Bear Lake environment. That is, contact with the dominant white society established conditions which made it more difficult to live off the land at Bear Lake and which consequently resulted in reduced land use among the Bear Lake people. This is not, however, to say that the Bear Lake people are not now utilizing the resources of their land since, as was documented in the first section of this paper, they continue to derive an important part of their income from the land.

What is claimed however, is that a new settlement pattern at the Bear Lake which was introduced from the outside has made it more difficult for the Bear Lake people to efficiently utilize their land. If land use among these people is reduced from the time at which 100 percent of their livelihood was derived from the land, then the explanation of this fact resides in conditions imposed upon the Bear Lake

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people from the outside. Should representatives of the same socio-cultural system which introduced change to Dene society now cite the existence of those conditions as proof for the need for additional change.

The fact that given permanent residence at Fort Franklin, it is now more difficult to exploit traditional animal and fish resources does entail the conclusion that an economic system based upon industry and wage labor must be established. What it does entail is the conclusion that new forms of technology and new kinds of work organization must be employed as new solutions to the problems of living off the land at Bear Lake.

For example, since people no longer live on the North Shore and around Hottah Lake, it is more difficult nowadays for them to hunt barren ground caribou than it was in the past. In response to this, new kinds of technology, for example, snowmobiles larger boats, and chartered aircraft and new kinds of work groups, for example, hunting groups organized by the Band Council and the Hamlet Trappers Association have made it possible to continue to hunt for caribou.

Within this context, it is significant to note again the increase in participation by Bear Lake men in barren ground caribou hunting during the period under consideration.

In light of the extent to which governmental programs have undermined the efficient use of their land by the Bear Lake people, it is

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interesting to see an example of a program which apparently has had the opposite effect. Based upon this example, there seems to be no reason the Bear Lake people could not, if they so choose develop a community based economy founded substantially upon the continued use of traditional resources, even under the limiting conditions thus far imposed upon them. Whether or not this alternative will continue to be available, given the further imposition of restraints from the outside, is a matter requiring serious consideration.

At this point, I want to turn to an outline of certain aspects of the meaning of the bush to the Bear Lake people and of the values which they attach to participation in traditional land use activities.

It is obvious that their land and a bush oriented way of life mean much more to the Bear Lake people than can be expressed in western dollar terms. By measuring the utility of traditional land use activities in dollars only, one misses or obscures many of the subjective preferences or values which the Bear Lake people associate with such activities. It is important then to know what some of these additional cultural values are in order to understand the Bear Lake people's continued use of their land.

Skipping a little bit -- these people of course discuss the importance of the foods and materials which they take from the land. However, they also emphasize a number of other positive values which cannot be measured in dollar terms. Such values were

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learned by the Bear Lake people from their ancestors and are considered by them to be constant in their cultural tradition, a way of life.

Among these values are the following: First, the Bear Lake people highly value participation in a way of life which requires hard work and industriousness and which demands the constant acquisition of knowledge through experience on the land. Life in the bush is very difficult and there is always something which must be done in order to survive. Food must be obtained, fires must be kept, clothing and shelter must be looked after, dogs must be fed and boats, snowmobiles and toboggans must be repaired.

The Bear Lake people enjoy such constant activity and give recognition to those people who are most industrious and successful on the land. The knowledge required by these people is considerable and can only be obtained by experience in the bush. As one person put it:

"The bush is a hard school."

Second, the Bear Lake people highly value the self-reliance and independence characteristic of life in the bush. In the bush, everyone is his own boss and is responsible only to his partners and family. In the bush, people are not dependent upon others for their living. They are not dependent upon white men for jobs, for school and for food. Things are not upside down when the Bear Lake people are on their land and any of them can obtain what they need to live.

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1 Third, the Bear Lake people
2 highly value the generosity and mutual support which is
3 associated with the bush. Men are their own bosses,
4 and are free to make most of their decisions for them-
5 selves. However, they normally travel with partners,
6 make decisions together, help one another in any way
7 required, and share their take (except fur) between them,
8 so that no one is without. The successful moose
9 hunter, for example, always divides the moose meat among
10 all of his partners. Such reciprocity is, of
11 course, not limited to the bush (as anyone visiting
12 Fort Franklin will quickly see) yet Bear Lake people
13 associate it with life on their land and stress its
14 importance within that context.

15 Again I want to emphasize in
16 this context ^{the fact} that local exchange value is not a proper
17 way in which to assign dollar value to income from
18 the land. Local exchange is predicated upon kinship
19 and other kinds of social relationship, not upon
20 supply and demand. One Bear Lake man explained the
21 sale of caribou meat to other people at reduced prices
22 in terms of trading caribou meat for white grub.

23 "If someone gives you meat, you should give him
24 money so he can get something from the store."

25 All of these and other values
26 which I don't have time to discuss derive from and are
27 associated with a cultural tradition which is based
28 upon life in the bush. While the commitment Bear Lake
29 people have to these values and to their land has only
30 been briefly discussed, the existence of such values

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1 is clear. The Bear Lake people work in the bush not
2 only because they derive income from their land, but
3 also because that work represents a link in their
4 cultural tradition to a way of life characterized by
5 industrious activity and the acquisition of knowledge
6 through bush experience. Independence and self-reliance
7 and generosity and mutual support. These values help
8 explain why Bear Lake people maintain strong ties to
9 the bush in spite of increasing pressures from out-
10 side of their socio-cultural system which undermine
11 their continued economic use of the land.

12 I will now summarize and conclude.

13 In this paper I have attempted to describe the extent
14 and intensity of recent land use by the Bear Lake
15 Indians and to interpret such land use by placing
16 it within appropriate historical and cultural contexts.
17 Time and space have limited complete consideration
18 of this topic. However, to reiterate, the following
19 points have been established:

- 20 1. The Bear Lake people continue to derive an
21 important amount of food(between 25 and 40 of their
22 requirements) and a substantial amount of income
23 (the equivalent of over \$200,000) from their land.
- 24 2. A significant percentage of the Bear Lake people
25 still engage regularly in traditional land use acti-
26 vities.
- 27 3. The entire area of land which was occupied by their
28 ancestors is still used, to some extent, by the Bear
29 Lake people today.
- 30 4. During the past five years, as measured by the

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1 indices in this paper, there has not been a general
2 downward trend in land use activities by the Bear Lake
3 people.

4 5. The Bear Lake people do not obtain -- do obtain,
5 excuse me, less of their income from their land than
6 did their ancestors 100 years ago. This fact, however,
7 must be explained by citing conditions imposed upon the
8 Bear Lake people from outside of their/^{own}socio-cultural
9 system.

10 6. The utility of various land use occupations to
11 the Bear Lake people should not be measured solely in
12 dollar income. There are other kinds of subjective
13 preferences or values which they associate with
14 these traditional cultural activities and there are
15 tangible psychological benefits derived from these
16 people from their participation in the Dene way of
17 life. Thank you.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Rush-
19 forth, you say that -- and certainly at the moment
20 I don't suppose anyone is disposed to argue with you
21 -- that the replacement value of the game, the fish that
22 the Great Bear Lake people obtain amounts to something
23 like 200,000, you said somewhere between 220 and 260
24 a year. What figure did Gemini North come up with
25 using the local exchange thing?

26 A According to the Gemini
27 Report, somebody maybe can clarify because they listed
28 this figure both in 1971 and in 1972 in different
29 places, but their figure amounts to approximately

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1 \$36,000, not including income derived from the fur
2 trade, during either 1971 or 1972, I'm not sure which.

3 Q Or both?

4 A Or both. I'm not sure.

5 I think it's probably '72, it must be in the
6 report earlier on. If you compute it that according to
7 the approximate replacement value, the food obtained
8 from the land during those years I think you would
9 have to multiply their figure by approximately five,
10 which would give you approximately \$176,000 of income.
11 Again that's the price that the Bear Lake people would
12 have to pay in order to replace food which they got
13 from the land with food which they acquired in a market
14 economy. I see no other reasonable way, if Bear Lake
15 people are not going to participate or were forced
16 away from participation in a traditional way of life,
17 the only alternative source of food would be the
18 market economy and I consider that to be the only
19 reasonable way in which to compute the value of food.

20 Q The discrepancy is vast
21 and makes a world of difference. Gemini North, and
22 even though I bragged this morning that I read the
23 four volumes of their report, I don't remember coming
24 across this, but did they indicate why they had
25 rejected the replacement value method of computing
26 the imputed value of country food to these people?

27 A I maybe wrong, but I
28 don't think they ever gave a rationale for that. They
29 simply say this is the price caribou and fish go for
30 in communities and again I think the reason that there

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1 is such a low price in communities must be explained in
2 terms of social relationships, it's not a market
3 situation.

4 Q Yes.

5 A , I think that the figure they
6 used for caribou, for example, was between 50 and 60¢
7 a pound.

8 Q But how could you
9 determine that anyway? How would they be able to determine
10 what the people in the village sold caribou,
11 fish, moose, anything else to one another for?

12 A Perhaps Dr. Asch could
13 answer this, but I think they simply asked the game
14 management officials how much the meat was going for
15 in town. Is that right?

16 WITNESS ASCH: I don't have
17 any detail on this.

18 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: It seems
19 relatively arbitrary.

20 WITNESS ASCH: The only thing
21 I saw in the report was it said the exchange or re-
22 sale price in the community, but it did not detail how
23 that was determined.

24 Q O.K.

25 WITNESS RUSHFORD: The replace-
26 ment values which I used in my report were simply for
27 red meat. I computed the average price of beef at the
28 Hudson's Bay store and used that as ^{my} replacement value.

29 Q The Hudson's Bay store
30 in Fort Franklin?

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1 A Yes, at Fort Franklin
2 during the time of the study, simply by averaging all of
3 the different kinds of beef^{together} and coming up with the
4 dollar figure. I did the same thing for fish and for
5 birds. For birds for example I used the replacement
6 cost for chicken, as simple as that.

7 MR. BELL: I'd like to turn to
8 Chief Kodakin now. Perhaps you could pass the micro-
9 phone down to Chief Kodakin. Chief, has Scott Rushforth's
10 paper been explained to you in your own language?

11 WITNESS KODAKIN: Say that
12 again.

13 Q Has Mr. Rushforth's
14 paper been explained to you in your own language?

15 THE INTERPRETER (FOR WITNESS
16 KODAKIN): Yes, he say yes, Scott explained to him and
17 I translated for him, and then he told all his people
18 in Franklin.

19 Q And chief, do you agree
20 with Mr. Rushforth,^{with} what he says in his paper?

21 A What's "agreeing with",
22 another way of putting it? Correct. He says yes,
23 yes, it's correct.

24 MR. BELL: Thank you very much.
25 Perhaps now if there is any cross-examination of
26 Chief Kodakin, counsel could direct their questions
27 to him at this time so that we can enable him to get
28 back home.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: Just Chief
30 Kodakin, not Mr. Rushforth?

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Cross-Exam by Scott

MR. BELL: Yes.

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Hollingworth?

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I have no
questions of the chief.

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Steeves?

MR. STEEVES: I have no ques-
tions.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

Q I'd like to ask the
chief what the price of fur was last year, and what
the price of fur is this year. Beaver fur pelt.

A He say it depends on how
you get,
much' if you get a whole bunch and they give him the
average price, he says. He bring in 40, they give him
average size, 13 or \$14 pelt, depends on who you're
dealing with, Hudson's Bay or co-op. You see, the co-
op gives you \$18, \$20 per pelt, and Hudson's Bay will
give you 13 or 14. You got to ^{make} deal with two of them,
see.

Q Well, is the price
higher last year or this year?

A He says it was higher
last year.

MR. SCOTT: Those are all the
questions I have, thank you.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you.

MR. BELL: Well, perhaps now
would be a convenient time to break for tea sir,
before we go on with further evidence.

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(WITNESS KODAKIN ASIDE)

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Let's come
to order.

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL (CONTINUED):

Q Dr. Asch, would you
please proceed?

WITNESS ASCH: Yes.

MR. SCOTT: Excuse me. Mr. Bell,
would you convey my request to Dr. Asch that he go
loud and not too fast?

WITNESS ASCH: O.K. Also I
was thinking about the hockey game, which I understand
is irrelevant.

MR. SCOTT: If you miss the
hockey game it will be in the paper.

A I don't even know who
won on Tuesday night.

Mr. Commissioner, let me begin
by summarizing what I understand to be the position
of the petroleum industry regarding the social and
economic impact of the gas pipeline and attendant
development on the native people of the north.

This position, based on the
studies of the Boreal Institute of the University of
Alberta, Van Ginkle Associates, and by Gemini North,
suggests that:

(1) The social and economic situation in the north
today is characterized by the problems of high unemploy-
ment, high welfare, alcoholism, poor housing, and racial

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1 tensions, among other things.

2 (2) That these problems cannot be solved through the
3 traditional way of life, for this is either dead of
4 dying;

5 (3) That the construction and maintenance of the gas
6 pipeline as well as attendant development will provide
7 employment and thus help in some respects to alleviate
8 the immediate social and economic plight of the
9 people. Therefore it is concluded that the social and
10 economic impact of the pipeline on balance will be
11 beneficial and that the pipeline thus should proceed
12 as quickly as possible.

13 The intent of my presentation
14 is to provide an alternative analysis of the social and
15 economic situation in the north today and to offer a
16 different conclusion regarding the potential impact of
17 the pipeline and its attendant development. In brief,
18 I will argue that, while I agree with the industry-
19 sponsored studies that the people in the north today
20 face a number of very serious economic and social, as
21 well as political problems, the developments proposed
22 by the petroleum corporations, at least in their
23 present form, will not help in solving these problems
24 and indeed will almost certainly exacerbate them.
25 Thus I will be recommending to you that, unless certain
26 issues regarding control of and participation in develop-
27 ment in the north are resolved first, these developments
28 should not take place.

29 However, before beginning the
30 substance of my presentation I feel it is important to

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1 say a few words concerning why I believe we experts
2 are in disagreement on this issue. Some might say
3 that our differences are purely political or else
4 merely represent reasonable scholarly disagreement on
5 a subject. I would disagree. Rather, I would argue that
6 the differences in our analysis and conclusions flow
7 directly from the fundamentally different ways in which
8 we approach the question of the analysis of socio-
9 economic impact.

10 I am sure that a number of
11 the ways in which our approaches differ will emerge
12 from my presentation. Here I just wish to mention that
13 at base my critique of these studies is that, although
14 they have collectively amassed quite a bit of data,
15 they include virtually no information on either historical
16 cal or cultural factors. As a result, on the one hand
17 they are missing information essential to making a
18 proper assessment of any development, and on the other
19 they are creating the impression that northern natives
20 are fundamentally just poor people who happen to be
21 native, an impression which does injustice to the facts.
22 In fact, I would argue that had they taken historical
23 and cultural factors into account, the other researchers
24 would have either reached the same conclusion as I, or
25 at least would have moderated their recommendations
26 concerning immediate development to include more native
27 control.

28 In this presentation, then, I
29 will provide some of the missing cultural and historical
30 information and use it, in conjunction with the data

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1 found in the industry-sponsored studies, to re-assess
2 the impact of the gas pipeline and attendant development
3 on the social and economic life of northern natives.
4 Specifically, the data I will offer here derives, on
5 the one hand, from three years research into the post-
6 contact economic history of the Slavey region, and on
7 the other from material I have gathered during seven
8 years of learning about the social life of the people
9 in a single Slavey community, Fort Wrigley. I must
10 state at the outset that this data was not collected
11 primarily for the purpose of doing an economic and
12 social impact study, nor is the data extensive in
13 geographical range. However, I believe that the general
14 features of the other areas are similar, and therefore
15 the same conclusions should generally apply in the
16 whole Dene region. Nonetheless, I believe that much
17 information is needed before an accurate picture of the
18 history and the culture of the area can be known to
19 southerners.

20 Economic History. It is not
21 my intention to present an overview of the contact
22 history of the north alternative to that presented at
23 this Inquiry by Professors Helm and Stager. Rather, it
24 is my desire to develop out of my specific research
25 into the economic history of the Slavey region a
26 general framework for discussing the problems facing
27 the native people today, and the way a gas pipeline
28 would contribute to those problems.

29 In brief, this general frame-
30 work will suggest that the post-contact economic

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1 history of the region is characterized primarily by
2 the operation of an economic relationship in which
3 the native people receive immediate material well-being
4 in exchange for long-term economic dependency. The
5 evidence I will use to show this relationship derives
6 primarily from my study of that portion of the Slavey
7 area to the east of the Mackenzie River between Fort
8 Simpson and Fort Norman. I will begin with a
9 description of the economy of that area in the late
10 pre-contact period. This will be followed by a
11 section on the history of the fur trade, and one
12 on the economy today. I will conclude with an assess-
13 ment of the pipeline within the context of the history
14 of the Indian-white economic relationships.

15 At first glance, it may seem
16 somewhat inappropriate to consider that the Dene had
17 an economy at all during aboriginal times; there was,
18 after all, no market place. However, if we define the
19 term "economy" in its most basic sense, that is as the
20 production and circulation of goods, then it is clear
21 that every society that survives in a material way from
22 year to year must have an economy.

23 In the late pre-contact period
24 the economy of the region was characterized by the dom-
25 inance of small self-sufficient groups of approximately
26 20 to 30 related people called by anthropologists
27 "local groups". In order to maintain themselves, these
28 groups relied on the harvesting of the many kinds of
29 bush resources found in the region, including a wide
30 variety of fish, small game animals, big game such as

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moose and woodland caribou, and a number of kinds of edible berries. As well, they relied on other products such as trees which were important in constructing shelters, in transportation, and as fuel.

Given the nature of the terrain, and the distribution of resources in the region, it is most likely that the local groups camped in winter near the shores of the larger lakes which dominate the region. Here the small game and fish, which were the constant staples of the diet, could be found in most constant supply.

Within these encampments labor was organized along age and sex lines, with men primarily responsible for hunting big game and setting fish nets, and the women and children for the collection of small game. As well, women were responsible for making clothing from local resources such as moose hide and rabbit skins.

The primary techniques used in collecting animal resources were snaring with babiche and sinew snares and entrapment. As well, moose and other big game animals were hunted with bow and arrow, club or spear when crossing water or open country. Fish were taken with fish nets made of woven willow bast or caribou babiche. Given this type of technology, it is reasonable to conclude that most often large game capture required co-operative labor in hunting parties. As well, co-operation was also important for women's production tasks.

Transportation in the winter at this time relied primarily on human labor power and was accomplished almost exclusively on foot. Yet paradoxical as this may seem, the result of this form of transportation resulted in more group travel than in the later period when dog power was used in transportation. The reason for this is simple; without dog teams it would be easier to bring people to the game than the other way around. Hence, it would appear that in winter people moved around more than in later periods and in fact may have travelled throughout the region in search of game, returning only occasionally to the fishlake base camp when the situation demanded it.

In summer, people travelled primarily by shallow drafted canoes. As well, some moose hide canoes may have been used. Travel at this time included a trip to one of the major lakes where an encampment of perhaps 200 persons would be formed probably around the times of the fish runs. Then, before winter, the people would return again to their small local groups.

Turning now to the question of the circulation of goods, it would appear that within local groups bush resources were distributed on the basis of reciprocity or mutual sharing. That is, generally speaking, all participated equally in the good fortune of the hunters and all suffered equally when their luck turned bad. Although the distribution system was basically informal, there was apparently some formality concerning the way in which certain animals

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1 were shared, and that specific parts were reserved for
2 the hunter and persons closely related to his or her
3 immediate family. In this way, individual ability
4 could be recognized but not at the expense of the
5 collective good. Thus it was the whole membership of
6 the local group and not each family or each individual
7 that defined a self-sufficient unit.

8 There is little direct
9 evidence available from historical or archaeological
0 sources concerning the circulation of goods
1 between local groups during this period.

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However, an examination of the productive base of the land indicates that the region is not highly varied as to kinds of resources, but is somewhat variable from year to year as to the actual distribution of these resources on the land. Hence, the primary problem of circulation probably concerned the creation of a balance in any one year between local groups which had resources surplus to their needs and those which did not have the minimum resources necessary for survival.

Theoretically, there are two ways in which this imbalance could be correct. Either the surplus goods could be moved to the people in need or people could move to areas in which local surpluses existed. Given the technology as well as the kinship system as reported by early travellers, it would appear that the latter solution was probably the case. Thus, it would seem that the principle of mutual sharing of resources was extended beyond the local group to include all groups in the region. This was done through a kinship and marriage system which linked all the people in the region into a single social unit and thus conveyed to all reciprocal rights and obligations concerning the use of resources in the region.

In terms of inter-regional or inter-tribal exchange, the little archaeological and historical evidence available indicates that trade between groups did occur for copper as well as implements of European manufacture are found in the region even prior

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to the arrival of European traders. However, nothing of the mechanisms of this type of trade is known.

To summarize then, the regional economy in the late aboriginal period was a total economy both in terms of production and circulation of goods. That is, the people of the region were themselves wholly responsible for their own survival. They achieved this end by organizing themselves into self-sufficient local groups within which production and distribution were collective activities.

However, given the potential variation of resources in local regions from year to year, on occasion, local groups found themselves unable to maintain their self-sufficiency. At these times, they would join with other local groups lucky enough to be enjoying a surplus. Hence, the principle of cooperation and mutual sharing found within local groups was extended to all the people of the region.

The period of direct involvement with the fur trade began in the last decade of the 18th century. Although contact was established as the result of the competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company, for hegemony in the western trade, virtually none of the intense rivalry between the two trading companies was transferred to the region. Here, the Northwest Company maintained hegemony in the fur trade until 1821 when, with the amalgamation of the two companies, the new Hudson's Bay Company came into ascendancy. As a result, none of the disruptions in native life which marked the period of competition in

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other parts of Canada appeared in the north and indeed, from the time of contact until roughly 1870 when the Bay lost its monopoly in the fur trades throughout Rupert's Land, the fur trade was marked by stability.

During the period of Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, the region was apparently considered too remote to command much attention. Bay policy required that remote posts such as those in the region remain self-sufficient in food provisions. Further, at least in the period from 1821 to 1850, Bay conservation policies inhibited trading in furs at all posts in North America, including those in the region. As well, supply lines at this time were maintained through the use of York boats and brigading from Winnipeg to the west, imposing severe restrictions on the amount of goods and furs which could be transported to and from the north.

Given these transportation and trading restrictions, goods available for trade at remote posts were limited both in kind and quality. Of the goods available the most important for the Indians were probably the new staples such as flour, tea and sugar; metal utensils and implements; beads; blankets; tobacco and alcohol. In order to obtain these goods, the Indians had to trade local resources. However, given the limitations of the goods and the policy restrictions mentioned above, it would appear that production in the fur trade was not great and consisted mainly of providing food provisions rather than furs.

From this evidence, it appears that the economy of the native people of the region

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changed little during this period from its aboriginal strategy. That is, the economy of the region was still total in that the people of the region including both natives and Bay personnel depended for their survival almost exclusively on local resources. This was achieved by Bay personnel through the exchange of trade goods for food and by the natives through the continued use of a wide range of bush resources and the organization of the people into self-sufficient economic units or local groups.

For the native people production despite the new utensils and implements was still primarily a collective activity and distribution of goods within and between local groups was still based on the principle of sharing. The only significant changes in native economic life during this time were the adoption of certain trade good items that made life a little easier and a shift in the seasonal round to include both occasional trips to the trading posts for supplies at various times in the year and especially later in the period the occasional use of the trading posts rather than the major lakes as places for encampment during the summer.

With the sale of Rupert's Land in 1870, the Hudson's Bay Company lost its monopoly in most of its former domain and with it, an assured supply of furs at prices well below world market levels. In some areas of the Mackenzie region, such Fort Wrigley and Fort Norman, monopoly conditions continued to obtain until as late as perhaps 1900.

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However, in other parts of the region such as Fort Simpson and upstream, the operation of free traders further south was soon felt by the Bay. Thus, for example, William Hardisty, chief factor at Fort Simpson, as early as 1876 suggested that while the Indians, at Fort Norman "being in the center of the district and far removed from the opposition, are still amenable to authority and generally work well", the natives of the Fort Simpson area, "would not deliver up their furs at the old prices", one reason being "the advent of free traders at Vermilion in Alberta and the exaggerated reports regarding them which have been carried all over the district."

In order to meet this new competition, the Bay needed to provide more trade goods and provide them more cheaply. The major stumbling block to accomplishing this end was the continued use of an out-moded transportation system which was costly, inefficient and taxed to capacity. To solve this problem, perhaps spurred on by the development of an independent steam transport system by the Roman Catholic missionaries, the Bay reacted by replacing the York boats with steam, first on the Athabasca in 1882 and then on the Mackenzie in 1885 and by the moving of -- and by moving the major trans-shipment point to the north from Winnipeg to Edmonton after the completion of the rail link from Calgary to Edmonton in 1891. Between 1870 and 1890, transportation to the north was thus revolutionized from a system based on an 18th century model to a modern one.

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1 From the late 19th century on
2 then, the Bay apparently changed its strategy from one
3 of monopoly in the collection of furs to the encourage-
4 ment of competition. Their control now was seen to be
5 in terms of virtual monopoly in transportation and re-
6 tail sales, where it was felt they could maintain a
7 high level of profit.

8 I should say that the profit
9 in Wrigley in 1892, the gross profit was 290 percent.

10 The effects of competition and
11 the new transportation system as well as the Yukon gold
12 rush of 1898 and the rise in fur prices during World
13 War I was the complete transformation of the fur trade.
14 To begin with, there was a major change in the kinds
15 and quantities of goods available. Among the new items
16 introduced in the period between the end of monopoly
17 and the turn of the century were: the repeating rifle,
18 the steel trap, wide varieties of western clothing,
19 dogs and dog teams and chocolates and other luxury
20 items. As well, after the development of steam trans-
21 portation, the numbers of traditional exchange items
22 such as food staples, blankets and metal utensils
23 available in the north increased dramatically.

24 Secondly, a major shift
25 occurred in the position of the trading establishments
26 in the regional economy. Specifically, it is clear
27 that the new transportation system along with later im-
28 provements created a condition in which the traders were
29 no longer dependent upon local resources for survival
30 but rather could rely increasingly on external sources

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1 of provisions.

2 Thirdly, this new found
3 independence of the fur traders had an effect on
4 exchange relationships between the trader and the
5 Indian. It is true that in order to obtain trade goods
6 natives still traded local resources. However, whereas
7 in the earlier period either provisions or furs could
8 be used equally in exchange, now the Bay and the
9 free traders alike could manipulate the exchange relation-
10 ships to encourage trade in furs over food.

11 Thus, for example, as early as
12 1871, the Bay limited the trade in percussion rifles to
13 fur exchange while allowing food and furs to be traded
14 only for common Indian guns. As well, late in the
15 19th century, the Bay changed its standard of trade by
16 doubling the exchange value of furs to that of
17 provisions. The process changing the economic relation-
18 ship was capped during the last decade of the 19th
19 century with the adoption of money as the medium of
20 exchange and the concurrent demise of the old barter
21 system.

22 As a result of these externally
23 initiated developments in the fur trade, the economy
24 of the region had shifted by 1900 in some areas and
25 certainly throughout the region by the middle of World
26 War I away from its virtual independence of trade
27 goods to a situation where both trade goods and local
28 subsistence resources were significant. Yet, the
29 internal organization of the economy did not change
30 greatly. The primary economic unit for most natives

1 still remained the local group which in most cases
2 still wintered at fish lakes. Further, labor was still
3 organized on the basis of age and sex, with the women
4 and children responsible for collecting small game,
5 and the men for hunting, fishing and now trapping.

6 Some changes in production
7 resulted from the introduction of the rifle and steel
8 trap. Of these, perhaps the most significant was the
9 new-found ability of individuals to maintain more
10 independence of others in their hunting and trapping pur-
11 suits. Yet, aboriginal hunting techniques were still
12 employed in collecting most game, including big game
13 animals and so cooperation remained a significant
14 component of production.

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1 It's interesting seeing what
2 Dick Turner has there about the use of steel cables
3 for snaring moose in the 1930s.

4 As well, some changes
5 occurred in the mobility of the people. To begin with,
6 the advent of the trapline, the year-around availabil-
7 ity of provisions at trading posts, and the introduction
8 of dog team transport encouraged sedentism to the extent
9 that during the early 20th century many families built
10 permanent dwellings at fish lakes and along traplines.
11 Further, in order to obtain supplies and trade furs,
12 the men now made at least two trips to the trading
13 posts during the winter season. Generally these were
14 at Christmas and at Easter. However, the women and
15 children most often did not accompany the men to the
16 posts, but remained as before, in the bush throughout
17 the winter months. Finally, summer travel was
18 probably expanded by the introduction of motors on
19 canoes and scows. As well, now the seasonal round
20 almost always included summer encampments at trading
21 posts rather than at the major lakes.

22 Finally, it would appear that
23 the circulation of goods among the people of the region
24 remained virtually unchanged by the new fur trade
25 conditions. Despite the increased individualization
26 in production and the introduction of money into the
27 economy, distribution both within and between local
28 groups remained based on the principle of mutual sharing.
29 Thus the main change in the distribution system of the
30 region was the great increase in the amount of trade

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1 between the native people and the traders.

2 In summary then, it would
3 appear that the regional economy was transformed by
4 the new fur trade conditions from a total economy to
5 one which relied both on local subsistence and the use
6 of externally produced goods which were exchanged for
7 furs. However, it is important to note or to point
8 out that this shift appears to have created no major
9 changes in the internal dynamics of production and
10 circulation within the native economy.

11 Nonetheless, as a result of
12 this economic shift, which required minimal changes in
13 production and virtually no change in distribution,
14 the standard of living was greatly raised. This
15 must have made people feel quite wealthy. This rise in
16 standard of living, however, had an unexpected consequence
17 -- dependency. For now the stability and success of
18 the economy was dependent in large measure on external
19 economic conditions such as high market price for
20 fur in relation to trade good prices and the availability
21 of productive surpluses in one aspect of local resources,
22 furs. This latter problem, as Father Fumoleau points out,
23 was chronic, and indeed after the influx of whites into
24 the north during the 1920s, almost led to the collapse
25 of the economy. On the other hand, the first problem
26 appeared on the surface at least to be insignificant,
27 for as my investigation of the relationship between fur
28 prices and trade good prices in the period beginning at
29 World War I shows, they remained in a stable relation-
30 ship for over 30 years through two World Wars and the

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1 Great Depression. Yet ultimately it was this factor
2 and not fur production itself that led to the collapse
3 of the fur trade economy, when beginning after World
4 War II and lasting at least through the Korean War,
5 there was a long depression in the value of furs and
6 an astronomical rise in the price of trade goods.

7 In the years immediately
8 following the war, I am sure that it was hoped that fur
9 prices would soon rise again. In the meantime, most
10 people supported in part by the general introduction of
11 family allowance and old age pension payments during
12 the late '40s, maintained their fur trade economy
13 focus. But by the 1950s it became apparent that the
14 fur economy would never return, at least without
15 direct government intervention. Thus, for example,
16 the Territorial Council in January, 1956, unanimously
17 passed a resolution which stated in part:

18 "Whereas the real income derived from fur
19 trapping in the Northwest Territories is less
20 than one-third of its pre-war level,

21 And whereas it is not possible for a person
22 to live and to provide the minimum standards
23 of his family at present prices of fur,

24 Be it resolved that the Commissioner be requested
25 to ask the Minister of Northern Affairs &
26 Natural Resources to request the Government of
27 Canada most strongly to give immediate consideration
28 to the provision of assistance to the people
29 of the Northwest Territories through the establishment
30 of an appropriate measure of support

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1 for the price of fur, or alternatively to take
2 all possible measures at the earliest date
3 to stimulate the economic development of the
4 Northwest Territories so that alternative
5 means of employment and income can be provided
6 for these people."

7 The government acted by
8 adopting a position basically in favor of economic
9 development. To this end, Jean LeSage, Minister of
10 Northern Affairs & Natural Resources, in 1955 pro-
11 claimed the New Education Program for the Northwest
12 Territories which recommended the construction of
13 school facilities in smaller centres and a program of
14 hostel construction in larger ones to facilitate
15 universal education. This solution was apparently
16 approved of by at least some of the native chiefs for
17 it seemed a way for the youth to overcome the problems
18 of the contemporary economic situation.

19 As a result of this policy by
20 the early 1960s, grade schools had been constructed
21 in virtually all the communities in the region and in
22 most cases people were encouraged to move into town
23 where they would continue to receive benefits and could
24 remain with their children. For the others, it was
25 pointed out that:

26 "forgetful children should not forget that
27 school is compulsory and that missing school
28 for five consecutive or separate times is liable
29 to punishment. Parents who fail to send their
30 children to school without serious reason and

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1 notification to the teacher, are liable to
2 be fined and jailed. Moreover, family allow-
3 ance payments may be cancelled upon report
4 made by the proper authorities. Mark well,
5 children, that missing part of the day accounts
6 for a day's absence, insofar as the punishments
7 are concerned. Therefore, do your share for
8 your sake and that of your family."

9 Given the economic conditions
10 of the time, the threat of the loss of family allowances
11 must have been quite an inducement to those unwilling
12 to volunteer to send their children to school. In any
13 event, voluntarily or not, most people at least in the
14 Fort Simpson and Fort Wrigley regions, had moved into
15 town within one year of the opening of a winter term
16 school.

17 The new circumstances had a
18 profound effect on the internal organization of the
19 regional economy. To begin with, the movement of people
20 away from residence at fish lake encampments and the
21 introduction of direct family allowance payments, old
22 age pensions and other cash benefits, directly to
23 nuclear family heads and individuals, completely under-
24 mined the economic rationale of the local group. Thus
25 beginning no later than 1960, the nuclear family,
26 typically composed of an older married couple and their
27 adult and younger children, became the primary self-
28 sufficient economic unit.

29 Further, while the overall
30 economy still relied on both bush resources and trade

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goods with the demise of fur itself as the means for obtaining trade goods, the internal organization of the economy was forced to shift into two virtually independent spheres of production and distribution: (1) for bush subsistence; the other for trade good subsistence.

Concerning the former, the production and distribution were little changed. That is, production was still organized as previously, with men responsible for hunting big game, fishing and trapping, and the women for the collection of small game and berries. However, the move into town meant that the men, who for the most part still retained their fish lake hunting and trapping areas, had to travel long distances to obtain bush resources. On the other hand, the fact of permanently and enlarged local populations meant the eventual depletion of the small game in the vicinity of the communities, and thus ultimately the virtual abandonment of winter collection activities on the part of women.

Aside from the fact that the primary mutually sharing group shifted away from the local group, there was also little change in the ideology of distribution in the bush resource sector. That is reciprocity still obtained in the bush resource circulation both within the nuclear family and when surpluses were available, between families that had once co-resided within a single local group. Indeed, in a few instances, bush resources were shared within the community as a whole, despite official counter-pressures

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1 against the ideology of reciprocity, as for example
2 through government supervision of the distribution of
3 game kept in community freezers.

4 Turning now to the cash trade
5 goods subsistence sector, in the past furs alone had
6 had an exchange value sufficient to fill the trade
7 good needs of the economy. Now with the collapse of the
8 fur trade, this was no longer the case. Thus, people
9 needed to obtain cash in addition to the income received
10 from trapping. In most cases, families relied upon direct
11 cash payments from the government such as family
12 allowances, old age pensions, and in a few cases, welfare,
13 which is still called rations as far as I know,
14 to make up the difference. As well, in some families
15 some or all of the cash needed to live was generated
16 by part or full-time wage labor.

17 In terms of distribution, the
18 cash trade goods economic sector had an ideology
19 which seemed to take on features both of our society
20 and the traditional native one. On the one hand, the
21 production, that is the cash itself, was not shared
22 except to purchase those trade goods necessary to
23 fill the needs of the nuclear family, and indeed any income
24 generated by family members surplus to these was
25 apparently considered as the private property of the
26 income earner to be used either to purchase on an
27 individual ownership basis personal consumer items such
28 as portable radios, record players, musical instruments,
29 and amplifiers, for personal travel, or in some cases
30 to be buried away somewhere as a useless thing.

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In rare instances, surplus money was lent (of course at no interest) to close relatives, but it was never shared. On the other hand, however, traditional trade goods, and especially food items, although now purchased with money rather than furs, were treated like bush resources and formed a significant part of the reciprocity system of distribution.

Finally, it is important to point out that the movement into town also had a profound effect on mobility and travel. While it is true that in the fur trade period women and children remained fixed at fish lake encampments throughout the winter, they did travel extensively in summer. Now, however, aside from brief trips in the summertime, the women remained rooted throughout the year at the townsites. Here they resided initially in houses that had originally been intended only for summer use, and later in some cases, in government-built dwellings. Further, with the winter round for the men had reversed itself in that rather than venturing from the bush into town a few times during the season to obtain trade goods, they now travelled from town to the bush a few times a year to obtain bush supplies. Finally, the younger children remained in the local communities for the whole year and then as they grew older went on to the major centres to continue their education. Thus they often never experienced living throughout the winter in the bush environment.

In sum, then, I am suggesting

that the collapse of the fur trade and the concomitant rise of governmental intervention in the economic and social life of the people in the region did not produce a qualitative shift in the focus of the native economy away from its reliance on both local subsistence and the use of trade goods, though it is clear that in more recent years use of the latter has become of increasing importance.

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In Chief

1 However, it would seem that
2 in the past thirty years, that the past thirty years
3 has been an era of marked change in the internal
4 organization of the economy in that production and
5 circulation spheres of the bush subsistence and cash
6 trade good subsistence became virtually independent
7 of each other, thus creating what is known as a dual
8 economy. As well, government policies introduced
9 during the past thirty years have themselves created
10 fundamental changes in those aspects of economic organiza-
11 tion pertaining to the size and composition of the self-
12 sufficient economic units, mobility and travel and
13 perhaps most importantly, contact with the bush on the
14 part of the younger generation.

15 Finally, it is clear that the
16 contemporary native economy has not solved the problem
17 of dependency on external agencies characteristic of
18 the fur trade economic adaptation. Indeed, I think
19 all would agree that the problem has only deepened
20 and become more obvious as direct government payments
21 have replaced productive labor as the main resource
22 for obtaining trade goods; payments which are seen by
23 most people, native and non-native as hand-outs to the
24 poverty stricken.

25 At the outset of this section,
26 I stated that my purpose was to develop a general
27 historical framework within which to assess the impact
28 of the proposed gas pipeline and attendant development.
29 This framework, I asserted, would suggest that the
30 post-contact economic history of the region is dominated

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1 by^a single theme, the exchange on the part of the native
2 people of immediate material well-being in return for
3 long-term economic dependency on external forces.
4 Through a brief^{summary} of my research into the economic
5 history of the region -- this is changed slightly
6 from your text, -- I have shown that the pre-contact
7 economy was total with respect to production and dis-
8 tribution. I then showed that this totality was not
9 broken by the fur trade until after 1870 when, with
10 modernization, subsistence levels were raised dramatical-
11 ly^{through} the introduction of new goods in large quantities.

12 I then suggest that the
13 acceptance of these goods by the Dene led to the
14 creation of the problem of dependency on outside agencies
15 specifically, the world price of furs.

16 I then go back to my -- I then
17 prove the importance of this dependency by showing it
18 was indeed the change in exchanged values of furs.
19 These would be the trade goods for which they were
20 exchanged that led to the collapse of the fur trade
21 economy after the second World War.

22 Finally, I provided evidence
23 to show that the scene of economic dependency in
24 return for immediate material well-being has continued
25 and indeed has been deepened and made more visible by
26 the intervention of the government directly into the
27 economic and social life of the people.

28 In short, I believe that the
29 evidence I have presented in this section clearly
30 supports my contentions concerning the general course of

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1 post-contact economic history of the region. Below,
2 I will use this finding along with my assessment of
3 the contemporary social, economic, and political
4 situation among native people of the region to evaluate
5 the potential economic and social impact of the pro-
6 posed gas pipeline. Let me conclude this section
7 by stating simply that while I will develop this
8 argument more fully later, it is obvious that on the
9 most basic level this development, at least in its pro-
10 posed form really represents a further elaboration on
11 the theme of immediate material survival for long-term
12 dependency, only this time, the changes being considered
13 appear to be on such a massive scale that they will
14 inevitably produce a major re-orientation of the native
15 economy away from the self-sufficient bush subsistence
16 sector and towards an ever increasing dependence on
17 the externally controlled trade good sector for survival.

18
19 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, well
20 let's pause for five minutes and stretch our legs and
21 then you can resume.

22 A Thank you.

23 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

24 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

25 WITNESS ASCH: A few changes
26 in the next page, so when they come, you'll just have
27 to bear with me. My writing style kind of fell apart
28 somewhere around here, got it back together in another
29 three or four pages.

30 Now, to the contemporary

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1 cultural context. Let me begin with the findings
2 regarding economic and social problems in the north
3 today as reported by the industry sponsored studies.
4 These are set out in their most complete form in the
5 Gemini North study and, for the sake of brevity, I
6 will limit my outline to these.

7 Specifically, the Gemini North
8 report suggests that there are nine major problem
9 areas facing northerners today. These are: 1. alcohol
10 abuse; 2. poor housing; 3. high welfare; 4. health re-
11 lated problems; 5. poor educational opportunities;
12 6. increasing crime rates; 7. social stress and tension
13 as related particularly to the rise of racism; 8.
14 native land claims settlement; and, 9. poor recreational
15 facilities.

16 This is where I differ slightly.
17 On the basis of my own research, I can concur that all
18 but one of these problems they outline, the land
19 claims settlment is the exception, exist and indeed
20 can be matched by at least as many others. Yet, what
21 is unmentioned in these reports is that these problems
22 are really surface manifestations of a pattern which
23 has arisen out of the relationship between native people
24 and external agents, both governmental and business
25 during the past 20 years. In fine, this relationship
26 can be described as a massive intrusion of southern
27 Canadian institutions, values and powerful personnel
28 into the ongoing social and economic processes of native
29 society.

30 As a result, many traditional

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1 Dene institutions and values have been put under
2 tremendous strain. It is this strain which generates
3 the surface problems. In this section, I will illustrate
4 this conclusion by use of four examples of the kinds
5 of externally caused problems native people face
6 and the kinds of strains these place on traditional
7 institutions and values. The first two I will discuss,
8 education and welfare, use the same labels as the
9 industry sponsored studies, yet present very different
10 analyses.

11 The latter two, wage employment
12 and governmental insensitivity are not really mentioned
13 as problems in the other studies. Indeed, wage employ-
14 ment is seen in their studies as a solution.

15 I will then conclude this
16 section with some remarks concerning how native people
17 today are working to solve the problems we have
18 presented them, both on a local and a territorial
19 wide level, an aspect of the contemporary situation
20 conspicuously missing in the industry sponsored reports.

21 Education then comes next.
22 I don't know exactly where it is in here. Education
23 comes next anyway.

24 Regarding education I wish
25 to discuss three problems. The first concerns the
26 abrupt change in the enculturation process brought
27 on by the fact of schooling. Prior to the insistence on
28 formal education, parents and other members of the
29 local group were given the primary responsibility for
30 the education of the young. That is, native people were

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1 virtually independent in terms of education. Now, however,
2 for a good portion of the day, the children are given
3 over to strangers, members of an alien culture, to be
4 taught strange ways in a strange manner. Furthermore,
5 in all cases, at least as far as Fort Wrigley is
6 concerned, the strangers were chosen without the
7 consent or even the input of the local people.

8 This leads to a second social
9 problem, the sensitivity or lack thereof of the
10 teachers to the native situation. To begin with,
11 no teacher, regardless of how empathetic, is given the
12 kind of training necessary to begin to see native pro-
13 blems from a native point of view. Furthermore,
14 the social structure of the small communities divides
15 social life on the basis of race and makes it virtually
16 impossible for teachers to integrate into the native so-
17 ciety without rejecting the white one.

18 Thus, contact with native
19 people is often restricted to the school day itself after
20 which the teachers return to the white society and the
21 Indian child returns to the native one. As well, the
22 isolation, the social tensions, and other factors appar-
23 ently often lead teachers to remain only a minimum length
24 of time in the isolated communities. Indeed, as far as
25 Fort Wrigley is concerned, since 1969 there have been
26 four completely new sets of teachers. With each new
27 set, come differences in teaching style and even program
28 content, thus creating additional confusion for the
29 child and making it exceedingly difficult for him to
30 meet teacher expectations.

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1 A final aspect of the problems
2 facing the people with respect to education I wish to
3 mention here regards the school curriculum itself. It
4 is true that the situation has improved somewhat from
5 the period when the Alberta school curriculum was used.
6 Indeed, today, children are taught about their
7 traditional culture as well as about contemporary south-
8 ern Canadian life. Nonetheless, information about
9 at least one important aspect of their lives, their
10 recent history, appears to be lacking both at the
11 elementary school level and if my interviews with
12 northern natives now attending the University of
13 Alberta are representative, among recent high school
14 graduates as well.

15 Finally, despite all the
16 talk about respect for native culture and courses
17 concerning traditional crafts, it would appear that the
18 elementary school curriculum itself, at least insofar
19 as my edition of the guide is concerned, stresses to
20 social studies teachers the position that native culture
21 is of the past and is today, dead or dying and that
22 the children must learn that change is inevitable
23 and that they should adapt to it. Or, putting it in
24 their own words:

25 "The north is experiencing increasingly rapid
26 change . Clearly, the learning program must do
27 everything within its power to prepare people for
28 change. In this sense, the future orientation
29 of the curriculum is of prime concern. Children can
30 inquire into the past as well as the present, but

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1 the overall objective must be in terms of using
2 this information to try and predict what might be.

3 There are many other problems
4 associated with the way in which education is organized,
5 including the school year and the question of compulsory
6 school attendance, an issue which is of great importance
7 today as it is still being used to force children from
8 the bush and back to the classroom, although I don't
9 know how generally that is the case.

10 I would now like to turn to
11 another problem area, welfare. As I see it, the
12 problem of welfare is not limited to the amount or
13 pervasiveness of the payments themselves. Rather,
14 it is importantly connected to the very form in which
15 they are given, that is, to individual families. As
16 I pointed out above, the traditional distribution
17 system ensured that there was little wealth differentia-
18 tion. This, as well, is true of the distribution system
19 today related to the bush subsistence sector of the
20 economy.

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On the other hand, the introduction of welfare payments in their present form has created the individualization of poverty and has helped to relieve the community of the traditional responsibility to help one another. This then has led to the undermining of the values of collective responsibility which are part of the reciprocal economy and has subtly led to the forced acceptance of the value of individual responsibility which is characteristic of our economy. In this sense, then, welfare represents a social intrusion that goes far beyond the mere question of dollars and cents for it, like education, creates a perfidious influence on the native people to change their values.

The third problem area, wage labour, is closely related to the question of welfare. The introduction of permanent wage employment for only a small minority of people in the 1950's could have undermined the traditional value of economic equality by creating a class of rich and poor. However, during the 50's and early 60's at least in Fort Wrigley, there was little temptation to spend large amounts of money as luxury consumer items were rather scarce. As well, as the jobs went to responsible family heads, the excess money was often used for socially useful activities such as supporting children attending schools in other communities, or was not used at all.

However, with the rapid development of the north in recent years and the concomitant rise in the amount of consumer items

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available, this situation has changed. Now, there are many well-paying seasonal jobs especially in oil and gas exploration. Given the nature of these jobs, virtually all go to young men and at least in the case of Fort Wrigley, overwhelmingly to unmarried ones. Thus, wealth, in terms of purchasing power has become concentrated in the hands of those with the fewest economic responsibilities. As a result, much of this income is expended on personal luxury items or on socially useless activities such as drinking parties.

Indeed, it would appear to me to some extent that the problem of alcohol abuse itself may in part be generated by the excesses generated through wage labour.

In addition, the fact that payment goes to individuals has helped to create a distinction between the rich young, who work for wages and the seemingly poor young who collect bush resources for the family. And yet, given the ways in which most wage-generated income is spent, it is clearly the latter's activities which are socially more useful both to the individual family and to the community as a whole.

In short, what I am saying is that in today's circumstances wage labour is often less of a solution than it is a problem -- despite what the industry-sponsored studies say -- for on the one hand, it is acting as a subtle influence to change values away from mutual sharing and towards individualistic ones and on the other it is concentrating wealth in the hands of those who are least capable or willing to use it in socially useful ways while at the

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1 same time, helping to undermine the respect for
2 others who perform socially more valuable labour such
3 as that involved in bush collection.

4 The last area of
5 externally caused problems concerns the effects of
6 what ^{I have} labelled government insensitivity. There are many
7 examples of this. Some, the people of Wrigley have
8 already told you. They include promises made prior
9 to their move concerning among other things, housing,
10 water and wood delivery: promises which the government
11 apparently now says either were never made or could not
12 have been kept even if a government representative
13 made them on behalf of his employer. As well, there
14 is the Cominco situation where the government asked the
15 Wrigley people to express their feelings about the
16 development and then proceeded to grant a permit over
17 their objections. And there was the Mackenzie Highway
18 which the people of Wrigley thought they had stopped only
19 to discover that it will now end at Wrigley -- the
20 very circumstance they thought they had avoided by their
21 agreement with the government: a circumstance I might
22 add which was derived from their own social and
23 economic impact study of the effects of the road ending
24 at the neighbouring community of Fort Simpson. Finally,
25 there is one recent decision that perhaps has not been
26 publicized. It concerns the granting of an air sked
27 licence to a firm which will provide service between
28 Fort Simpson and Fort Wrigley.

29 As I understand it, there was another applicant
30 who had agreed to run a service between Fort Simpson,

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1 Fort Wrigley, and Fort Norman. The people of Wrigley
2 have as many relatives in Fort Norman as they do in
3 Fort Simpson. Therefore, I am sure that they would have
4 favoured this route for now they have to either charter
5 a plane to get to Fort Norman or else fly a circuitous
6 route from Fort Wrigley through Fort Simpson, Yellowknife,
7 and Norman Wells. Yet, this service was turned down.
8 I do not know why. Yet, one would think that a
9 reasonable and responsible government could have
10 ensured that air travel to a neighbouring community
11 would exist. Certainly, this would happen in the south.
12 Thus, as these examples show, it is impossible for
13 native people to be sure that the government has their
14 best interests in mind and this, itself, is a problem
15 they must deal with.

16 In short, it does not
17 take long to discover the common theme which connects
18 all of these problems: it is, as I said above, that
19 they are all in large measure the result of the
20 intrusion of southern institutions and values into the
21 ongoing processes of native life. In other words,
22 southern domination of the contemporary situation
23 is itself in large measure responsible for the creation
24 of most of the problems native people are now facing.

25 As a result of this
26 social and economic domination, native people in the
27 last 20 years have been under ever increasing pressure
28 to abandon their traditional way of life and replace
29 it with institutions and values like ours. Yet, despite
30 our conscious and unconscious efforts to effect this
end, this process has not been completely successful and,

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1 indeed, many aspects of the traditional way of life
2 survive and even flourish. Nonetheless the pressure
3 cannot be discounted. However, it is being resisted
4 in the sense that native people are not succumbing
5 but are rather working to solve these problems which
6 face them and regain control over their lives.

7 This response as Father
8 Fumoleau points out, dates back at least as far as
9 the first intrusion of native into native political
10 autonomy at the time of the so-called treaty signings.
11 However, it has only been in recent years with the
12 rise of territorial wide political organizations such
13 as the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories
14 and the Metis Association that the response has
15 generated political power. This culminated in the
16 Land Claim and the Dene Declaration through which it
17 is hoped the native people will be able to regain control
18 of their economic, political and social institutions.
19 Now, this is again slightly changed in wording so --
20 Thus, in my mind, the Land Claim is not a problem as
21 the industry-sponsored study suggest but rather as an
22 attempt to find a solution to a range of problems.

23 It is ironic but most
24 significant to note that among the strongest supporters
25 of the Land Claim are the young and well-educated: the
26 very individuals the industry-sponsored studies
27 suggest are the most alienated from the traditional
28 way of life and the most willing to embrace the
29 western one.

30 Yet, in reading the

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1 testimony at the community hearings and in talking with
2 the young people of Fort Wrigley myself, I find an
3 overwhelming majority do not want to abandon their
4 traditional life style and see the land claim settlement
5 as a way to protect themselves in future from what has
6 happened to their society without such protection in
7 the past. Thus, the most important point is that they
8 are not sitting around waiting for us to solve their
9 problems for them but rather have arrived at a proposed
10 direction for a solution themselves. The question is
11 whether or not, we will allow them to take that path
12 and let them make it work.

13 On a local level, I
14 would like to mention that the adoption of a Co-op in
15 Fort Wrigley has also been an attempt to seek a
16 solution to some of their problems. The Co-op is
17 run by a board of directors composed entirely of native
18 people. It is operated in such a way that many jobs
19 are provided on a part-time basis and preference is
20 often given to heads of families.

21 This organization of
22 course, provides equity in the distribution of income,
23 ensures that money goes to responsible individuals and
24 enables people to spend time pursuing bush collection
25 activities. It is, to say the least, a more appropriate
26 form of wage employment than that used by the business
27 community. It further shows that where local people
28 have some control over the internal organization
29 of economic institutions they can make them run in
30 such a way as to maintain traditional values such as
mutual sharing even in the cash sector of the economy.

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There are as well other examples of the people of Fort Wrigley working to solve their problems. These range from the collective resistance to the road development to the formation of community-wide organizations such as the health and the women's committees.

To summarize this section then, I began by outlining the industry-sponsored reports concerning the social and economic problems facing northerners. I then went on to discuss some of the social and economic problems my research has uncovered. I then concluded by showing that rather than an apathetic response to the obviously serious conditions native people face today, native people have been working hard to try to provide solutions to these problems by themselves.

Hopefully, the information I have provided thus far has filled in some of the missing historical and cultural factors that differentiate northern natives from the southern Canadian poor. I would now like to use this information in order to evaluate the potential social and economic impact of the gas pipeline and attendant development on the northern native people and then go on to make specific recommendations to you concerning conditions I feel are necessary before a permit to construct this pipeline is granted.

While I will detail this to you below, my recommendation is essentially this: I believe that the only effective way to minimize the potential negative economic and social impact of the

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1 gas pipeline on northern natives and to ensure at the
2 same time the best chances for it to make a positive
3 impact is to make the question of granting a permit
4 conditional on a guarantee that native people control
5 the decision as to whether or not a pipeline goes
6 ahead, the pace and direction of development and the
7 internal organizational form it will take in the
8 region. The proper instrument for this would be a
9 land settlement which will give the Dene control
10 over their economic, social and political institutions.

11 I realize that this
12 recommendation runs counter to those presented in the
13 industry-sponsored studies. Therefore, I think it best
14 if I begin my argument with a critique of their findings
15 and recommendations. This will ^{then} lead to a discussion
16 concerning the necessity of the type of solution I
17 have recommended.

18 The industry-sponsored
19 studies come to two primary conclusions regarding
20 the social and economic problems and solutions. These
21 are:

- 22 1. That the traditional economy of northern
23 natives including such activities as hunting
24 fishing and trapping are becoming of little
25 economic importance and are today only part-
26 time activities among young people and
- 27 2. That the region today is characterized by
28 high unemployment and under-employment which
29 the pipeline will solve by providing jobs
30 and in doing so, help to alleviate other
problems facing northerners such as poor housing,
poor health care facilities and so on.

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1 Therefore they all conclude
2 that the gas pipeline and attendant development will
3 have an overall positive impact, and limit their
4 recommendations to the question of ensuring that
5 northern natives obtain the fullest opportunity to
6 participate in this development through wage labour.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: I think
8 page 29 is missing. Did you warn me about that?

9 A No, I didn't, that's
10 a mistake.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Have you got
12 an extra of page 29 anywhere?

13 A Oh, gee, you ought to
14 have it.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Here we are.

16 MR. BELL: Those who have page
17 29 may not have page 30.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Just go
19 ahead, carry on. We'll catch up. It's on the trans-
20 cript and we get it tomorrow anyway.

21 A That's very efficient.
22 Well, I'm doing my best.

23 2. That the region today is characterized by high
24 unemployment and under-employment which the pipeline
25 will solve by providing jobs, and in doing so help to
26 alleviate other problems facing northerners, such as
27 poor housing, poor health care facilities and so on.
28 Therefore they all conclude that the gas pipeline and
29 its attendant development will have an overall posi-
30 tive impact and limit their recommendations to the

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question of ensuring that northern natives obtain the fullest opportunity to participate in this development through wage labor.

My critique will be as follows.

If their analysis of the contemporary situation were correct, then perhaps the recommendations would make some sense. However, inasmuch as they are incorrect in many important respects, their recommendations must be rejected as inappropriate responses to the realities of the true situation. I will begin my critique with a discussion of their conclusions regarding the traditional economy. Their analysis of it can be divided into two major aspects:

(1) That hunting and trapping as a way of life is dying in that the number of northern natives pursuing it on a full-time basis is very small and likely to decrease, while the number of part-time hunter-trappers, especially among the young, is on the increase, for an example of that see Gemini North Volume 5 or 6 I guess that must be No. 6, page 412.

(2) That the economic value of bush collection activities are now of greatly diminished significance and that the primary value of these activities concerns the intangible aspect of "social and cultural values".

Concerning the first point, I do not dispute the fact that there has been a decline in the absolute numbers of full-time hunter-trappers in the Fort Wrigley region, and a concomitant rise in the number of part-time hunters-trappers. However, I strongly object to Gemini North and others' contentions

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1 that the reason for this decline are purely voluntary
2 in nature. For example, Gemini North suggests,

3 "Given a choice between the uncertainties
4 and risks associated with traditional
5 activities, (the fish didn't run, the rabbits
6 didn't come) and the greater security of in-
7 come from wage employment, younger members
8 of the working age population are opting
9 for the latter."

10 The facts, of course, as my
11 discussion above demonstrates, are quite different.
12 First of all there have been and still are important
13 coercive elements involved here. These, to remind you,
14 include the collapse of the fur trade which forced
15 people to seek other sources of cash income; the loca-
16 tion of schools in places far removed from bush collec-
17 tion centres; an education system that undervalued
18 until recently traditional pursuits in its curriculum
19 and sets its school term in such a way as to deny young
20 people the opportunity to spend winters in the bush to
21 learn about hunting-trapping, and the introduction of
22 exploration jobs that are extremely well-paid which
23 help to skew the choice of young males away from bush
24 pursuits, out of which little disposal income is
25 derived, and towards high-paying wage labor which
26 provides large excesses.

27 Secondly, I believe it is
28 incorrect to consider that there has been a decline
29 in hunting activities merely because people are now
30 "part-time" hunter-trappers. In fact as I have shown

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1 since at least the latter part of the 19th century
2 the native economy has consisted of two sectors:
3 the bush resource subsistence one and the cash trade
4 goods one. The demise of furs as the medium of ex-
5 change in the cash trade good sector has created a
6 need to substitute other forms of generating cash, in-
7 cluding wage labor. Yet as far as my own research at
8 Fort Wrigley is concerned, I do not believe that this
9 has resulted in a very marked decrease in the amount
10 of hunting activity.

11 Finally, I would argue that
12 the uncertainty described in the Gemini North Report
13 is not in the bush sector, that it is not primarily
14 related to rabbits, big game, fish and other subsistence
15 resources, rather it is related to the relationship
16 between fur prices and commodity prices, something
17 that they never tested. In short, I am suggesting that
18 under present economic conditions of uncertainty in the
19 price of fur, and the very inflated price of trade goods,
20 it would be foolhardy to assume that fur income alone
21 could sustain one's trade good needs. Therefore under
22 these conditions native people would be willing to
23 accept wage employment. However, should the economic
24 situation change so that, for example fur prices re-
25 mained very high and wage labor rates began to fall
26 off, I believe that many natives would return to
27 full-time hunting-trapping.

28 Turning now to the second
29 aspect, if it were indeed true that the economic
30 value of traditional bush collection activities were
decreasing, then it might be possible to argue that

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1 the old ways are dying. Yet of all the claims made
2 by the industry^{sponsored} studies, this is the most groundless.
3 I really think that Scott Rushforth's study has indicated
4 substance to my assertion here. Others on this panel
5 and on other panels will demonstrate with hard data,
6 the continuing importance of bush resources to native
7 subsistence. I, as well, can state that on the basis
8 of my experience at Fort Wrigley during the winter of
9 1969-70, there are important subsistence sources there
10 too. However, what is most telling is that their own
11 data, when interpreted properly, also helps to prove
12 my contention and actually disproves theirs.

13 Why is this so? The central
14 issue revolves around the question of value. Gemini
15 North Ltd. computes the value of big game resources in
16 terms of cash equivalents. For example, they suggest
17 that the value of caribou in 1971-72 was 60¢ a pound.
18 This value is defined as "the exchange or resale price
19 in the communities". Now such a method of computing
20 value might be valid if the hunters were entrepreneurs
21 who killed game in order to resell it at a profit.
22 But of course this is not the case. Rather, hunters
23 hunt to fulfill certain subsistence needs of their
24 families. Only bush resources surplus to these needs
25 are exchanged or given away to close relatives. This
26 fact means that the prices quoted by Gemini North do
27 not represent a market or exchange value. Rather they
28 can best be considered as a monetary symbol of the
29 reciprocity system of distribution. Hence their use
30 as representations of value is patently false.

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1 If, however, we examine the
2 animal harvest not from the point of view of resale
3 value but just in terms of quantity, a more valid
4 impression of value can be drawn. Take for example
5 the value of fish in Fort Wrigley in 1972. According
6 to Gemini North Ltd., the combined Fort Wrigley fish
7 catch was 2,500 pounds. This was valued at 30¢ a pound
8 for a total value according to them of \$750. Now fish
9 as you well know, is a primary nutritional source both
10 for humans and dogs. Considered in that light, 2,500
11 pounds of fish could well represent the major portion
12 of the winter dog food requirements of the native
13 people of Fort Wrigley or might represent a major
14 portion of their human food intake. Is there any
15 way that \$750 could accomplish the same end? The
16 answer is of course "No". Therefore their methods of
17 computation greatly underestimate the use value of
18 bush resources to native people and as such are grossly
19 in error.

20 What also disturbs me
21 greatly is that Gemini North Ltd. go on to use this
22 incorrect analysis to ascertain the value of bush re-
23 sources within the total economy of the native people.
24 This value they describe, on page 58, of Volume 4, I
25 guess it is, Volume 6 I guess it is, ranges from zero
26 at Norman Wells to a high of 50% at Fort Good Hope.
27 Even at Wrigley, which they describe as a traditional
28 community, the value of bush resource collection to
29 the total economy amounts only to 19%, whereas at Fort
30 Simpson, a community supposedly in transition, the value

Asch, Ritter, Rushforth
In Chief

1 is a mere 5%. It is from this information that
2 they make the claim that the old ways are dying.

3 There are two things wrong
4 with this method of evaluation. The first is the error
5 in computing the value of bush resources which, as I
6 have stated above, grossly underestimates their use value
7 to native people. The second is that the study
8 compares the value obtained for bush resources against
9 a value described as total estimated income. Now while
10 they do not detail whose income is included in this
11 latter figure, it is clear from the context that it
12 includes incomes of both whites and natives in a
13 community. That is, it is the total estimated income
14 for the whole community. Thus, for example, communities
15 with large white populations and major governmental
16 and/or business infrastructures, have very high estimated
17 total incomes such as \$7,400,000 for Inuvik and \$23
18 million for Yellowknife, whereas communities with very
19 small white populations, such as Nahanni Butte and
20 Trout Lake, have very low estimated incomes (56,000
21 for the former and 14,000 for the latter).

22 This means, of course that
23 they are comparing the undervalued bush resource
24 sector of the economy, which is virtually all native,
25 with the economies of all residents in a community,
26 native and white. But this is like comparing apples
27 and oranges. No whites hunt for a living, therefore
28 they cannot contribute to the bush resource collection
29 figure; and all whites have high-paying jobs, therefore
30 they inevitably inflate the estimated total income figures.

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1 In fact, as I will show you
2 here, if you ignore this inappropriate method of com-
3 parison and make a proper one, you will discover that
4 bush resource collection, according to their own
5 data, is not dying in the larger centres. Take for
6 example a comparison of Fort Simpson and Fort Wrigley
7 data on Chart 4.1. Now if we use the data as evalua-
8 ted by Gemini North, the bush resource share of the
9 income for Fort Wrigley residents is 19%, while that
10 of Fort Simpson as I said above, is 5%. Seemingly quite
11 a dramatic difference, and one which would seem to
12 bolster their claim that ^{Fort}Wrigley is more traditional
13 than Fort Simpson.

14 If, on the other hand we
15 concentrate only on a comparison of figures on total
16 bush resources collected, another picture emerges.
17 According to the Gemini North figures we find that
18 the people of Fort Simpson had an income of \$92,364
19 generated from bush resources, whereas those of Fort
20 Wrigley had an income of \$24,130. Now, if we ignore
21 the question of whether these figures represent true
22 value, we know from the discussion above that they
23 do not, but concern ourselves only with the relationship
24 between them -- this is proper, of course, in that we
25 assume that ^{the same} errors were made in both cases -- we
26 discover that the figure for Fort Simpson is roughly
27 four times that for Fort Wrigley. Further, if we com-
28 pare the size of the native populations of both
29 communities, (they are after all the only ones engaged
30 in significant levels of bush collection activities),

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1 we discover that Fort Simpson at the time had a
2 population of approximately 650 native people or about
3 four times that of the native population of Fort
4 Wrigley. Hence it would appear that their^{own} figures show
5 that the natives in both communities when taken as a
6 whole, participate to about the same extent in bush
7 resource collection activities. In other words, the
8 bush resource sector of the economy of the Fort Simpson
9 natives, a group which had supposedly abandoned most
10 bush collection activities, is just as high as in a
11 community which Gemini North concedes is more tradi-
12 tional.

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1 In short, as I said above,
2 if you discount the errors of Gemini North's analysis
3 and re-analyze their data using proper methodology,
4 their data actually helps to deny their contention that
5 the traditional economy is dying and in fact supports
6 the contention propounded here by myself and others
7 that it is still of economic significance in native
8 communities both large and small.

9 Now, I have^a section here,
10 a paragraph here which I would -- I'm looking at it
11 now. I think I've made my point and I really don't
12 want to -- I really would not like to have that in--
13 necessarily read into the record. I would stand behind
14 it, but I think it's a little bit pejorative so I'm --

15 THE COMMISSIONER: This is the
16 second paragraph on page 34?

17 A Yes.

18 Q Third paragraph.

19 A Yes.

20 Q "Before I go on with
21 my evaluation"?

22 A Yes. I mean, you know
23 I stand behind^{it}. I don't think it's inaccurate but
24 I don't think it's necessary. I think I proved my
25 point.

26 Q Well, I was reading
27 ahead of you and I've read that but I'll --

28 MR. STEEVES: Can I can
29 cross-examine you on it?

30 A Sure. That's fine, you

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1 know, I don't want to -- you know, I'm not after any
2 individual --

THE COMMISSIONER:

3 Q No no, I think you're
4 simply --

5 A I mean I made my point.

6 Q -- feel that you've made
7 the point and why hammer --

8 A Right.

9 Q -- us into the ground.

10 A Right.

11 Q Right.

12 A Thank you. I will now
13 turn my attention to a brief examination of the
14 second conclusion which concerns the question of
15 employment. There are three aspects to their findings
16 here. These are:

17 1. That the region today is
18 characterized by high unemployment and underemployment
19 and that this indicates a high level of poverty.

20 2. That the pipeline and
21 attendant development is a solution to this problem
22 in that it will provide employment.

23 3. That by providing
24 employment, the pipeline and attendant development will
25 help in solving other problems such as health care
26 facilities, racial tensions and housing.

27 Sorry, I need to take a breath.
28 concerning the first point, I have no doubt that the
29 region can be considered as having a high level of unemploy-
30 ment and underemployment if one uses southern standards of

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1 measurement but this does ^{not} mean as it might in the south,
2 that the native people are therefore poor and in great
3 need of jobs. It must be clear by now that cash
4 income accounts only for a portion of the total
5 economy of native people, and thus they, unlike the
6 stereotypic southern Canadian poor, may have little
7 cash but still not be impoverished, for a large ^{portion} of their
8 subsistence comes from bush resources.

9 In short, while I do not
10 doubt figures such as Van Ginkle's estimate that in
11 1972 the average per capita income for Indians in the
12 Northwest Territories was \$667, I strongly challenge
13 the conclusion drawn from it that, as Van Ginkle
14 suggests:

15 "... it becomes apparent that the current circum-
16 stances for native people is generally one of un-
17 employment, ^{and} underutilization, lack of options and
18 opportunity and endemic poverty."

19 Nothing could be further from the truth.

20 The second conclusion, namely
21 that the pipeline will help solve problems by providing
22 jobs, is strongly dependent upon the validity of the
23 first and therefore, should ^{be} considered somewhat
24 skeptically. Furthermore, as I have already pointed
25 out, employment itself may not be the unmitigated
26 blessing that the other studies seem to feel it is,
27 for, given the contemporary methods of obtaining labor,
28 we find that:

29 1. Work generally goes to young
30 unmarried men with the fewest economic responsibilities

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In Chief

1 and not family heads.

2 2. A major portion of the
3 income generated by employment is often dispensed on
4 socially useless activities such as drinking parties
5 and in this way helps to contribute to the problem of
6 alcohol abuse, and,

7 3. Because of the artificially
8 high wages paid, employment in development activities
9 helps to undermine the value of labor used for socially
10 useful work such as bush collection activities but
11 which do not produce disposable income.

12 In short, I remain unconvinced
13 that, as Van Ginkle and others suggest:

14 "Jobs and income are needed if the unsatisfactory
15 circumstances of the people are to improve."

16 Employment on a large scale envisaged by the industry
17 sponsored studies may well, in fact, create at least
18 as many problems as it solves.

19 That this is the case can
20 perhaps also be seen from a close examination of their
21 ^{third} conclusion, that unemployment may well help to solve
22 some of the other social and economic problems facing
23 northern natives. Since their argument here is a bit
24 more complex, let me begin by briefly summarizing their
25 findings. I will limit myself to two illustrations,
26 racial tension and housing as described by the primary
27 exponent of this position, Gemini North Limited.

28 1. Housing. Gemini North
29 Limited suggests that:

30 "A critical shortage of housing presently exists

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1 in the study region and that a significant pro-
2 portion of the housing stock is classified as
3 being of poor or fair quality."

4 According to them, employment and pipeline development
5 will lead to better housing because:

6 "1. Federal Government policy objectives insist
7 that northern natives be employed and that northern
8 employees of the proposed pipeline be supplied
9 with the same standard of housing and other
10 benefits as are supplied to employees imported
11 from southern Canada".

12 and

13 "2. Provision of adequate housing is a prime
14 factor in attracting northerners, white and native,
15 to employment opportunities and retaining them on
16 the job."

17 But, they suggest, this will only happen if suitable
18 precautions which they outline, are taken. In general,
19 these attempts to ensure that native employees are given
20 an adequate opportunity to obtain housing. If this
21 does not happen, they argue, the pipeline could indirect-
22 tly deepen the housing crisis and widen existing
23 disparities in housing available to different ethnic
24 groups.

25 2. Racial tensions. Here,
26 Gemini North suggests that relations between whites
27 and natives have deteriorated under the impact of
28 development until recent years. They go on to suggest
29 that racial conflict will continue to increase under
30 the impact of development:

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"until such time as all ethnic groups can share
in the benefits associated with it."

The pipeline, they contend, can contribute:

"...to improved relationships between northerners
by helping to reduce existing social and economic
disparities between ethnic groups resident in the
region."

The problem with their
analyses of both housing and racial tension is simple.
The pipeline will benefit only ^{those} who are employed by
its owners. Others of course, will not. Thus, the
problems that they lay out as being solved through
employment on the pipeline can be overcome by means of
their solution only if every northern native is employed
by it and receives high wages and fringe benefits.

Otherwise, their solution
will inevitably create disparities between those natives
employed by the company who receive high salaries and
good housing and those who are not employed.

In short, if Gemini North's
recommendations are followed, the pipeline may help
in some respects to reduce racial tensions between whites
and natives, but it will by its solution, create a
problem of equal concern, disparities between the high
salaried and well housed oil company employee and the
others who may not be so well served.

Perhaps Gemini North foresees
this as a real possibility, for their study suggests that
regardless of its general economic benefits:

"The proposed pipeline and related developments

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1 are likely to contribute to rising social assis-
2 tance payments",
3 that is, welfare. To my mind, this conclusion only
4 lends weight to the suggestion that employment generated
5 by pipeline development may only exacerbate economic
6 and social problems of today, for we here have the
7 admission that development could well lead to a conflict
8 between the cash rich, full-time employees of the
9 petroleum corporation companies and their cash poor
10 contemporaries who, although living a great deal from
11 bush resources, may at times require governmental
12 assistance.

13 The pressure of this situation
14 alone could well act as a catalyst to undermine the
15 traditional economy. In short, their conclusion
16 regarding welfare alone should give us pause about
17 the idea that large scale wage employment will be of
18 unmitigated positive value to northern natives.

19 To sum up my critique, then,
20 I am saying that the industry sponsored studies con-
21 clusions regarding the contemporary economic and social
22 situation are grossly in error in that they all under-
23 estimate the on-going economic value of bush resource
24 collection activities and greatly overestimate the
25 positive effects of large scale employment in solving
26 the problems facing northern natives.

27 Given that this is the case,
28 their recommendations speak only to guaranteeing maxi-
29 mum native participation in the wage economy and fail to
30 address themselves to the most important question of the

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1 very serious and real negative impacts large scale
2 development could have on native economic and social
3 life, regardless of the rate of native participation
4 in the labor force. Of course, the recommendations
5 do not speak to the very basic question of how native
6 people can protect themselves from these consequences.
7 In that this is the case, I believe that the recommenda-
8 tions of these studies must be assessed as inadequate.

9 I have attempted in my presen-
10 tation to demonstrate to you that the problems faced
11 by native people today stem from two fundamental
12 themes. These are:

13 1. That the genesis of many
14 problems for native people was the fact that unbeknownst
15 to them, their relationship with the fur trade in the
16 period after 1870 created an exchange in which they
17 received immediate material well-being in return for
18 economic dependency on outside agents, a dependency
19 which became real after the collapse of the fur trade
20 and which has been maintained through post-war
21 governmental intervention.

22 2. That most of the problems
23 facing northern natives today arise as the result
24 of the intrusion of southern institutions and values
25 into the on-going processes of Dene life, especially in
26 post-war depression years.

27 As well, I have suggested that
28 the Dene have proposed a solution to these problems in
29 the form of a land settlement, which, if it follows
30 the principles of the Dene Declaration, will enable the

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1 native people to regain control over their economic,
2 social and political institutions. I agree with
3 this position for I am convinced that without such
4 control, the process of intrusion will continue and
5 will ultimately erode the viability of their institu-
6 tions.

7 How then does the proposed
8 gas pipeline and attendant development relate to these
9 concerns? Let me begin with the question of the
10 dependency.

11 To my mind, the proposals
12 regarding this development are strikingly similar
13 to the bargain proposed by the fur traders about 100
14 years ago, that is, immediate material well-being in re-
15 turn for long-term economic dependency. However, in one
16 respect this new bargain is quite different for, whereas
17 the fur trade deal created maximum material benefit
18 for native people with minimal changes in their tradition-
19 al economic activities and organization, this new one
20 requires as a precondition for participation, the
21 acquisition of certain specialized skills necessary to
22 obtain employment. Furthermore, it implies another but
23 more subtle change, the further erosion of the bush re-
24 source collection sector of the economy for as one
25 applicant, Foothills Pipe Line put it in its National
26 Energy Board submissions:

27 "Considering the risks and uncertainties associated
28 with the trapping profession as opposed to income
29 security inherent in wage employment, the former
30 pursuit will be less attractive, particularly to
young native northerners."

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In other words, as a result of accepting this deal, the applicants anticipate the further erosion of the self-sufficient bush collection sector of the economy in favor of even more dependence on the cash trade goods sector, and that the means by which this will be accomplished is the desire of young native men to have the relative "security" of wage employment.

Whether or not wage employment is secure anywhere in Canada, given our economic system, is a question I will leave for another occasion. What is of extreme concern to me here, however, is that there is no guarantee that employment in the petroleum industry will be secure in the north over a long period. That is just as the fur trade's viability depended upon the availability of furs and a high world market price for them, so does the viability of petroleum development depend on the availability of oil and a high world market price for it. But what happens, for example, when the resource gives out, or if we in the south find a cheaper source of fuel in the next decade or so? What happens if the world market price of petroleum products declines to a point where it is uneconomic to exploit and transmit northern oil and gas to southern markets? The answer is obvious. The petroleum corporations, just like the fur traders before them, will pull out. Now I do not intend this statement to imply criticism of their motives. This is the way our system works. Their objective is not and should not be to help native people, it is to sell oil and gas at

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1 a profit. Therefore of course they must leave if the
2 proposition becomes uneconomic and of course that
3 day inevitably will come.

4 But what will happen to
5 native northerners when this does occur? If we follow
6 the history of the fur trade, the answer is known.
7 There will be a general collapse in the cash trade
8 goods sector of the economy. Yet if we follow the
9 projections of the petroleum corporation sponsored
10 studies, this collapse will be much more severe than
11 that created by the fur trade dependency for they
12 suggest that within the next decade

13 1. The economy of the native people will have been
14 transformed from its present situation in which there
15 are two viable but independent sectors, one concerned
16 with bush resource collection and the other with cash
17 trade goods subsistence to one which is almost totally
18 dependent upon the cash trade goods sector, and

19 2. That a large segment of the native community will
20 consist of a highly trained labor force specializing
21 in petroleum exploration and related activities, a
22 group unwilling or unable to use the bush as a means
23 of obtaining subsistence.

24 Hence there is a very real
25 possibility that should the collapse occur after the
26 next decade it would be too late to recover the
27 traditional economic way of life and the result would
28 therefore be a transformation of northern native people
29 into the general class of southern Canadian poor.
30

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1 In sum then, it looks to me
2 that the bargain the petroleum corporations are making
3 is as follows: In return for reorganizing your
4 labor force to suit our needs, we will provide you with
5 employment for an indefinite period of time. As a
6 result of our high wages, your young people may well
7 stop pursuing their traditional bush collection acti-
8 vities and therefore when we leave, as inevitably we
9 must, there is a good possibility that you will be
10 unable to sustain yourselves in your native land. It
11 is against this type of proposition that native people
12 must protect themselves.

13 Yet, as the history of the
14 fur trade shows, merely being participants in this
15 development will not accomplish this end. What is
16 necessary is that native people have effective control
17 over northern development for only then can they decide
18 which developments are in their own interests and pro-
19 vide safeguards to ensure that those aspects of their
20 traditional economy, including bush resource collection
21 activities, they wish to remain viable. A land settle-
22 ment should it follow the principles of the Dene
23 Declaration, will provide this type of control and
24 therefore should be supported.

25 This problem and type of
26 solution is not unique to the Northwest Territories.
27 Just south of the N.W.T. in the Province of Alberta
28 the government is attempting to find a means to ensure
29 that our standard of living will remain high even after
30 all the non-renewable resources are depleted. It could

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1 not begin to do this without an ability to control
2 the economic institutions within its boundaries. The
3 native people of the north who have had historical
4 presence in this land long before any of our fore-
5 fathers arrived on this continent, and who will remain
6 in the north even if we decide economic conditions are
7 too bad to allow us to, deserve this same opportunity.

8 Turning now to the second
9 conclusion, which concerns the loss of native control
10 over their economic, social and political institutions
11 in the post-World War II period, I think it is safe
12 to say that the contemporary period has not been the
13 most pleasant for native people, nor a particularly
14 ennobling one for Southern Canadian society in its
15 dealings with northern natives. Indeed, in the past
16 30 years Southern Canadian society, perhaps with all the
17 best intentions, has done more to undermine the
18 institutions and values of native society than in the
19 previous 100 years. Yet despite our intrusions into
20 virtually every facet of native society, traditional,
21 economic, social and political institutions and values
22 persist and in some cases, flourish. Furthermore, as I
23 have shown in this presentation, the Dene have not
24 only coped with this massive intrusion, but have
25 responded to the situation by working to solve the
26 problems which we have presented to them. As well, they
27 have proposed a general solution to these problems.
28 It is a land settlement which, if it follows the prin-
29 ciples of the Dene Declaration, will enable them to
30 regain control over their economic, social and

political and all other aspects of their lives from where they live to the education of their young, which we now control.

In sum then, my research leads me to fully support the position of the native people that there must be no pipeline before a land settlement. Indeed, to my mind, it is the only reasonable protection that the people can receive to safeguard themselves against the complexity of problems, both already known and as yet unanticipated, that must inevitably accompany a development scheme of this magnitude.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, thank you, Dr. Asch, and thank you, Mr. Rushforth. I take it that it's agreed we should adjourn now until Monday at 1 P.M., and at that time I take it also we will hear Mr. Ritter's presentation, and then the panel will be cross-examined; is that the program?

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MR. BELL: Yes sir.

MR. STEEVES: I have one difficulty with that. My learned friend has assured me, and I've accepted his assurance, that he is doing his very best with delivery of these summaries. In fact, the last half or so of the evidence of Professor Asch, I just received half an hour ago, and much of what is said in that part of the evidence seems to go to the heart of the matter in this phase of your Inquiry. I cannot assure myself that I will be fully prepared for cross-examination Monday afternoon.

THE COMMISSIONER: Of Dr. Asch?

MR. STEEVES: Of Dr. Asch. Therefore I have to take the position that I would like to cross-examine at some other time.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, why don't we proceed on the footing that to the extent that counsel are in a position to cross-examine the panel, they will do so after we have heard from Mr. Ritter on Monday afternoon, and if Mr. Steeves advises us at that stage or at the conclusion of the cross-examination that he, wishes in light of the late delivery of this evidence, to cross-examine Dr. Asch again at a later date, then I can't see any problem there.

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Well, sir, I'm in the same position as Mr. Steeves, and I received the summary yesterday and our office in Calgary received the summary yesterday as well. Today we received a

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1 list of reports that Professor Asch is relying on.
2 With respect, sir, I think that would make for a
3 rather disjointed cross-examination. I would much prefer
4 to defer the entire cross-examination of Professor
5 Asch to a later time.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
7 I see the point. Mr. Scott, I'm groggy, and maybe I
8 leapt to conclusions.

9 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: It raises
10 a couple of other points, sir. We also received
11 yesterday the evidence of the Council of Yukon Indians
12 and I am going to have plenty of work both over the
13 weekend and early next week to keep me busy on prepara-
14 tion for cross-examination. Now it's a matter of
15 priorities^{as to} which I should address first, I suppose.
16 We did set aside this period for Mr. Veale, but I think I
17 could probably accommodate him and see his witnesses
18 in and out, if I'm able to defer the cross-examination
19 of Dr. Asch, who let's face it, has raised many
20 meaty conclusions that require a good deal of attention
21 from the applicants.
22
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1 THE COMMISSIONER: Can I just
2 ask a question? What about Mr. Rushforth's evidence?
3 Are you ready to cross-examine on that? Is that the
4 same --

5 MR. STEEVES: No, I have no
6 problem with -- and I say it with the greatest respect
7 to his evidence -- I haven't had the same problem I
8 do with Professor Asch's. But it may be that they may
9 want to ask each other to share in responses to questions,
10 I don't know. Can you give your evidence independent
11 in cross-examination?

12 WITNESS ASCH: Well, I hadn't
13 anticipated this as a problem. Actually, to some
14 extent, my assertions concern the participation of
15 the -- in the wage economy -- are based on Mr. Rushforth's
16 work.

17 MR. STEEVES: That seems to
18 be the answer, sir.

19 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
20 can I make the following suggestion: that on Monday
21 we should be prepared to cross-examine Mr. Rushforth
22 and Mr. Ritter, and that Mr. Asch should be cross-
23 examined at a time that is convenient to -- a time
24 reasonably soon, convenient to Mr. Steeves and Mr.
25 Hollingworth.

26 Now, insofar as Dr.
27 Asch relies on Mr. Rushforth's paper, well then, he
28 relies on it as a published paper just like any other,
29 and if Mr. Rushforth is brought crashing to the ground
30 he may want to re-evaluate his own conclusions. But

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1 that should create no problem in terms of examination
 2 and Dr. Asch fortunately is not as far away as some
 3 of the other witnesses, yet.

4 MR. BELL: Could I be
 5 allowed a word in our defence, sir? We're happy to
 6 call Dr. Asch back at the convenience of counsel. I
 7 might point out however that a summary of his testimony
 8 was distributed. I sent it out special delivery in
 9 the mail two Mondays ago and although the last portion
 10 of it appeared in summary form, it nevertheless
 11 was in -- should have been in the hands of my
 12 colleagues by the middle of last week.

13 A more complete form
 14 of the ending -- the last 12 pages -- was distributed
 15 yesterday.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Be that as
 17 it may, Mr. Steeves and Mr. Hollingworth are saying
 18 that they would like, for one reason or another, to
 19 defer cross-examination of Dr. Asch who has made a
 20 most telling challenge to the whole argument that this
 21 pipeline project will bring great benefit to the native
 22 people of the north. Now, that's an important issue
 23 and my whole inclination is to say "All right. We want
 24 you to have ^{at} Dr. Asch as fully prepared as you can be".
 25 So that means, as they have said, they don't want to
 26 cross-examine on Monday and I don't intend to force
 27 them to.

28 MR. SCOTT: Could I ask this?
 29 That if that proposal is to be adopted, Mr. Hollingworth
 30 and Mr. Steeves might be able to let us know on Monday

whether they would regard themselves as able to cross-examine next week or whether they would propose some later date so that the timing of the exercise will not be unduly difficult.

MR. SCOTT: No, if you could let us know on Monday. I presume you don't know whether -- without talking to some people -- whether you will be prepared to cross-examine on Thursday, let us say, or not until some later period.

MR. SCOTT: No, I'm not assuming anything. I'm simply asking, would you be able to let us know on Monday when you would like to have Dr. Asch back so we can begin to make arrangements to --

MR. SCOTT: I'm obliged, Mr. Steeves. Will you, Mr. Hollingworth?

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, can
somebody tell me --

MR. SCOTT: May I sum up, Mr. Commissioner, subject to any objections my friends have. On Monday, we will hear Mr. Ritter's evidence in chief, the counsel will cross-examine Mr. Rushforth and Mr.

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1 Ritter and if Mr. Asch is here, that might be helpful,
2 useful and interesting but that all participants will
3 cross-examine him on a later occasion.

4 Item 2, Mr. Hollingworth
5 and Mr. Steeves will let us know on Monday at about
6 1:00 when they would be prepared to cross-examine
7 Dr. Asch.

8 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: May I
9 make two comments, sir? First of all, as far as I'm
10 concerned I think Dr. Asch might as well stay home on
11 Monday because I'm certainly not going to be prepared
12 to proceed.

13 Secondly, I think we are
14 doing a disservice to the other two members of the
15 panel --both of whom have PhD's and warrant the accolade
16 doctor as well.

17 THE COMMISSIONER: Those PhD's
18 are in transition.

19 WITNESS ASCH: Look, why
20 don't we just call me "Mr." and make it all even.

21 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: All right.

22 MR. SCOTT: If I may say so,
23 PhD's are a dime a dozen at this Inquiry. I'm not --

24 WITNESS ASCH: I would say
25 the same of lawyers.

26 MR. SCOTT: As I'm not turned
27 on by ^{my} legal colleagues, I'm not turned on by PhD's.

28 WITNESS ASCH: Well, I enjoy
29 your questions.

Rushforth, Ritter, Asch
In Chief

1 THE COMMISSIONER: All I
2 want to know is, how can I bring this to an end?

3 MR. STEEVES: We have all
4 defended each other.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, the
6 Council of Yukon Indians is on the agenda next week too,
7 right?

8 MR. SCOTT: Well, they
9 begin on Wednesday and I understand that Mr. Bell will
10 keep the program filled even with this difficulty on
11 Monday and Tuesday.

12 The Council of Yukon
13 Indians then will begin on Wednesday and I understand
14 will run out the week? Is that your understanding, Mr.
15 Bell?

16 MR. BELL: I think there is
17 a good possibility of that happening.

18 MR. SCOTT: Now, I should
19 also remind counsel that in addition to cross-examining
20 two out of three members of this panel on Monday, we
21 will also be cross-examining another panel that is
22 coming back to be cross-examined composed of Mr. Bean,
23 on Municipal Corporations and a number of his colleagues.

24 MR. BELL: Could I just make
25 a comment on that? What I propose to do, sir, if it is
26 acceptable is to complete this panel -- the cross-
27 examination of all except Dr. Asch, then call the two
28 witnesses who should have appeared on the panel earlier
29 last week, Mr. Hills and Mr. Simpson. I would then
30 follow that by the cross-examination of Mr. Bean, Mr.
Cheesie and Mr. Kurzewski. So that it would be more
convenient that way simply.

Rushforth, Ritter, Asch
In Chief

1 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Where does
2 Anne Forrest come in?

3 MR. BELL: We will fit
4 Miss Forrest in wherever we can. I think if there is
5 time left at the end of the week, we can probably fit
6 her in there.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.
8 Well, we seem to know where we are going and gentlemen,
9 I hope that you don't get the impression that we're
10 in the confused and chaotic state because we are not.
11 This is all extremely well-organized, and let me say
12 in a serious vein that I think all of us have found
13 the evidence given so far today by Mr. Rushforth and
14 by you, Dr. Asch, to be very interesting and very
15 important and all of this palaver is really designed
16 to give all parties a chance to consider it, get what
17 advice they think appropriate and then come back and
18 challenge you.

19 So we'll look forward
20 to seeing you again Monday, Mr. Rushforth and Mr. Ritter
21 and you again, I suppose on some other date, Dr. Asch.
22 The Inquiry will adjourn then until 2:00 tomorrow
23 afternoon in Fort Smith and the formal hearings are
24 adjourned until 1:00 Monday.

25 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO MAY 3, 1976)

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347

M835

Vol. 148

AUTHOR

Mackenzie Val ley pipeline inquiry:

TITLE

Vol. 148

April 29, 1976

DATE DUE

BORROWER'S NAME

347

M835

Vol 148

CA1
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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Government
Publications

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

- (a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
 - (b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
- FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

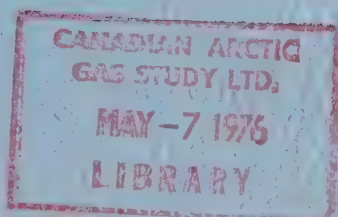
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

May 3, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

Volume 149

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Vol. 149



APPEARANCES:

Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.,
Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,
Mr. Alick Ryder and
Mr. Ian Roland for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline
Inquiry;

Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,
Mr. Jack Marshall,
Mr. Darryl Carter and
Mr. J.T. Steeves for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline
Limited.

Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,
Mr. Alan Hollingworth and
Mr. John W. Lutes for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;

Mr. Russell Anthony,
Prof. Alastair Lucas and
Mr. Garth Evans for Canadian Arctic Resources
Committee;

Mr. Glen W. Bell and
Mr. Gerry Sutton for Northwest Territories
Indian Brotherhood, and
Metis Association of the
Northwest Territories;

Mr. John Bayly and
Miss Leslie Lane for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada,
and The Committee for
Original Peoples Entitle-
ment;

Mr. Ron Veale and
Mr. Allen Lueck for The Council for the Yukon
Indians;

Mr. Carson Templeton for Environment Protection
Board;

Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C. for Northwest Territories
Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Murray Sigler for The Association of Munici-
palities;

Mr. John Ballem, Q.C. for Producer Companies;

Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association
of the Northwest Territor-
ies.

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I N D E XPage

WITNESSES FOR INDIAN BROTHERHOOD:

John Thomas RITTER

Jim SITTICHINLI

- In Chief

- Cross-Examination by Mr. Goudge

- Cross-Examination by Mr. Steeves

Donald G. SIMPSON

- In Chief

22747

22787

22798

22804

EXHIBITS:

606 Qualifications & Evidence of D.G. Simpson 22811

1 Yellowknife, N.W.T.

2 May 3, 1976.

3 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

4 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
5 ladies and gentlemen, we'll come to order.

6 Now I think we're ready for
7 Professor Ritter.

8 MR. BELL: All right, just
9 before I ask Professor Ritter to begin, sir, I think
10 there were a couple of matters raised in cross-examina-
11 tion by Mr. Scott last week concerning the recommen-
12 dations of ^{our} consultants on the land use study -- Dr.
13 Helm. and Mrs. Gillespie -- and I'd just like to reply
14 to that now.

15 From a perusal of the record
16 one might infer that Mrs. Gillespie's employment with
17 the Indian Brotherhood was terminated as a result of
18 a disagreement between her and the Brotherhood over
19 the manner in which the land use research should be
20 conducted. Nothing really could be further from the
21 actual circumstances. Indeed, the methodology for the
22 study had been set and in operation for over a year
23 before Mrs. Gillespie's dismissal, and during that
24 period she had worked under the study regime without
25 objection or reservation. Mrs. Gillespie was asked to
26 leave as a result of personal differences between herself
27 and Miss Nahanni. It was Miss Nahanni's attempt to
28 avoid resurrecting this distasteful episode which led
29 to some of the ambiguity in her testimony.

30 The transcript refers to

Ritter & Sittichinli
In Chief

1 certain differences of opinion between Mrs. Gillespie
2 and Miss Nahanni. These differences were totally unre-
3 lated to the methodology of the study. All of Mrs.
4 Gillespie's recommendations within her field of
5 expertise concerning the conduct of the study were
6 either accepted or voluntarily withdrawn following
7 discussion between her and other staff members.

8 Dr. Helm's involvement was
9 limited to the initial period of the study. There were
10 no disagreements with her relating to the study or
11 otherwise. All of her recommendations were either
12 accepted or voluntarily withdrawn after discussion
13 with those participating in the study.

14 The other requests are in the
15 process of being dealt with, and I'll produce that
16 information as soon as it's available, sir.

17 Mr. Sittichinli has kindly
18 agreed to join our panel today and to assist Dr. Ritter
19 in his presentation.

20
21 JOHN THOMAS RITTER,
22 JIM SITTICHINLI, resumed:

23 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL (CONTINUED):

24 Q I'd like to call on
25 Dr. Ritter now to present his evidence.

26 WITNESS RITTER: Thank you.
27 I think I'll begin by reading through the text of this
28 paper, which shouldn't take very long, and then I'd
29 like to move to the maps and sort of point out some of
30 the places and names that are discussed in the paper.

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In Chief

1 So just bear with us as we read through this.

2 This paper will examine the
3 results of a place name study conducted among the
4 Kutchin people of the Yukon and Northwest Territories
5 and will discuss the implications of these findings for
6 a reconstruction of traditional land use. It will be
7 shown that place names (or toponyms, as they are called
8 in technical parlance) provide valuable evidence con-
9 cerning the history of the Kutchin, their material
10 culture, and the flora and fauna of the lands they have
11 occupied for generations.

12 The relevance of the material
13 discussed here to the concerns of the present Inquiry
14 can be summarized as follows. It has been repeatedly
15 argued before this Commission that the native peoples
16 of the Mackenzie corridor continue to maintain aboriginal
17 title to the lands they presently occupy and to lands
18 occupied by them in previous generations as well. Aside
19 from the various legalistic considerations which have
20 been adduced in favor of this position, additional
21 supporting evidence has been provided by the land use
22 and occupancy studies carried out by the Indian Brother-
23 hood of the Northwest Territories which have clearly
24 and dramatically demonstrated the geographical
25 extent of lands occupied by individual Dene bands in
26 the pursuit of such subsistence activities as hunting,
27 fishing and trapping. The results of the present place
28 name study are of a similar order and serve to streng-
29 then the force of evidence provided by the land use
30 studies. One important underlying premise of the

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In Chief

1 present submission is that a highly specialized
2 facet of Kutchin intellectual culture, namely an
3 elaborate and extensively developed nomenclature
4 for natural features of the land can be used to
5 establish an historical overview of land use which
6 reveals the general outlines of land occupancy by
7 successive generations of Kutchin people.

8 It is in many ways only an
9 accidental fact that the present study deals specifi-
10 cally with Kutchin place names. Detailed work with
11 other native peoples of the Mackenzie Valley would
12 surely reveal a similarly complex and detailed knowledge
13 of the land and the traditional names associated with
14 individual mountains, lakes, creeks, and other features.
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~~Pittet~~, Sittichinli
In Chief

This study is part of a long-range project whose ultimate aims are, first, to complete a technical grammar and dictionary of the Kutchin language. Second, to document traditional oral literature including folklore and local history and, third, to assist bilingual education efforts by providing practical written materials for use in Kutchin teaching programs.

Research on place names falls into the second of these categories and it was during my first visit to Fort McPherson in 1971 that I became aware of the richness and variety of Kutchin geographical nomenclature and decided to pursue its documentation.

At first, this work was confined exclusively to the Fort McPherson area, but later was expanded to include Arctic Red River and Old Crow regions as well. To date, approximately 680 place names have been recorded, along with English translations and notes on land use. Most of the names have been numerically coded on the topographic maps which accompany this paper. Obviously it would be impossible to discuss more than a small fraction of the data within the constricted confines of the present account. To make the presentation manageable, I will largely restrict discussion to the place names of the Peel River Kutchin, the people of Fort McPherson and the relationship between these names and what is known of Peel River history since the time of initial European contact approximately 140 years ago.

This is not an entirely arbitrary choice because the toponymic data from the Fort McPherson

Ritter, Sittichinli
In Chief

1 area are more complete and have been more thoroughly
2 analyzed than comparable data from Arctic Red River and
3 Old Crow. Moreover, much more is known about the early
4 history of the Peel River people than of the other two
5 groups.

Data

6 I have personally seen only a
7 small percentage of the various areas and sites for which
8 names have been recorded and all of these are located
9 along the Peel River and in the Mackenzie Delta. During
10 the summer of 1972, two initial surveys covered the Peel
11 River from its confluence with the Mackenzie to as far
12 south as Mount Deception on the Wind River; one of the
13 major tributaries of the Peel.

14 A subsequent trip into the Upper
15 Peel drainage in the summer of 1973 permitted my co-
16 workers and me to re-check the original data and to make
17 a brief side trip up to Snake River. During the same
18 two summers, boat trips between Fort McPherson and Inuvik
19 enabled us to extend our coverage to include at least a
20 portion of the Mackenzie Delta.

21 Since summer travel by boat is
22 obviously limited to major navigable areas, the vast
23 majority of land traditionally occupied by the Kutchin
24 could be surveyed only through the medium of informant
25 accounts. Our procedure in this case typically consisted
26 in eliciting place names along certain common overland
27 routes, such as Fort McPherson to Dawson City, Trail Creek
28 to Hungry Lake which many people could recite from memory
29 with unerring accuracy and consistency.

30 We then attempted to locate the

Rittel, Sittichinli
In Chief

1 named areas as accurately as possible on standard topo-
2 graphic maps, although the 1:250,000 scale map sheets are
3 not especially suitable for recording extremely fine
4 detail, it was possible to arrive at reliable grid points
5 for each named site by cross-checking individual accounts
6 and by utilizing the talents of several men skilled in
7 map reading.

8 The difficulties involved in
9 this procedure were considerably lessened when working
10 on regions covered by 1:50,000 scale sheets. The names
11 themselves have been compiled in a numerically coded list
12 which contains for each name its Kutchin transcription,
13 a literal English translation when that translation is
14 known, and alternative or variant names when they exist.

15 3. Terminology. Before proceed-
16 ing to a discussion of our results a few terminological
17 issues need to be clarified. Throughout this paper I
18 have consistently used the word "Kutchin" to describe
19 the Athabascan bands under discussion. Now, as many of
20 you are aware, "Loucheux" is also commonly used to designate
21 the same people. There is widespread confusion and in-
22 consistency in the use of these terms and it may be
23 useful at this point to briefly review -- briefly discuss
24 their origins and meanings.

25 "Kutchin" is an anglicized spell-
26 ing and pronunciation of the native word "Gwich'in" which
27 can be somewhat freely translated as "people who live at
28 a certain place". When it occurs in the native language
29 with a preceding term which specifies a certain location,
30 the combination serves to designate a specific band or

Ritter, Sittichinli
In Chief

1 group of people.

2 That's, the Peel River people
3 call themselves "Teetl'it Gwichin"; the Arctic Red River
4 people, "Gwichyah Gwichin" and the Old Crow people
5 "Van tat Gwich'in". The initial terms in each case are
6 to be translated as follows.

7 "Teetl'it" means "head of the
8 waters" and the Teetl'it Gwichin" are thus the "people
9 who live at the head of the waters", i.e. in the upper
10 Peel drainage.

11 "Gwichyah" refers to a large,
12 flat expanse of land and the "Gwichyah Gwich'in" are the
13 Arctic Red River Kutchin who, for generations, have utilized
14 the resource base of the flat, lake-filled areas centering
15 around Travaillant Lake.

16 Finally, "Van tat" literally means
17 "amongst the lakes" and so the Van tat Gwich'in are the
18 "dwellers among the lakes", the people of Old Crow,
19 whose livelihood depends critically on the resources of
20 Crow Flats. Again, the common element in these terms
21 is "Gwich'in". Since English lacks equivalent sounds the
22 word has entered the language as "Kutchin".

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In Chief

1 In this form it has gained wide
2 currency in the technical literature and I follow that
3 practice in this paper simply as a matter of convenience.
4 However, most Kutchin people in Canada are not generally
5 aware of its meaning and do not use it as a designation
6 for themselves but instead recognize the word "Loucheux"
7 as the proper English cover term for all the Kutchin-
8 speaking people. "Loucheux" is itself an Anglicization
9 of the French "loucheux" (squint-eyed), a rather unflat-
10 tering term introduced by early French travellers and
11 traders. It has made its way into common usage only
12 in Canada, as well befits its origin on the Mackenzie
13 side, and is not generally recognized by Kutchin bands
14 in Alaska.

15 4. Extent of named areas.

16 We may now turn to a general overview of the areas
17 for which toponyms have been recorded. As the accompany-
18 ing maps clearly indicate, the regions named by the
19 three bands are very extensive indeed and encompass
20 virtually all of the Northern Yukon Territory (to the
21 treeline) and a smaller but nonetheless important
22 sector of the N.W.T. In the north the treeline forms
23 the border between lands named by the Kutchin and regions
24 traditionally occupied by the Inuit. Although the
25 Mackenzie Delta is extensively named by the Kutchin,
26 it has been widely used by them only within the present
27 century. Prior to the establishment of the Hudson's
28 Bay trading posts and the subsiding of traditional
29 hostilities between the Inuit and the Athapaskans,
30 the delta was a neutral ground or "no man's land" and

Ritter & Sittichinli
In Chief

1 was associated with great danger. The north-eastern
2 boundary coincides roughly with the Anderson River
3 and the border between Canada and Alaska represents the
4 western boundary. Named regions in the south extend
5 to the headwaters of the Porcupine, Blackstone, Hart,
6 Wind and Snake Rivers of the Yukon Territory. Approximate
7 boundaries between lands named by the Arctic Red
8 River, Peel and Old Crow bands will be indicated on the
9 maps. There is considerable overlap at the interfaces.

10 Approximately 320 names have
11 been recorded for the Peel River region, 250 for Arctic
12 Red River, and 110 for Old Crow. They include water-
13 related terms for individual rivers, creeks, lakes,
14 channels, sloughs, eddies, headwaters, and confluences,
15 as well as land-related names for specific islands,
16 points, mountains, hills, rocks, caves, trails, encamp-
17 ments, and one grave site. The Kutchin language con-
18 tains generic terms for -- cover terms -- for all these
19 categories.

20 5. Semantic classification and examples.

21 However, it is the meanings of these names that
22 interest us and in what follows I will examine a number
23 of semantic headings under which individual Peel River
24 toponyms may be categorized and give examples of each.
25 By appealing to a relatively transparent and uncomplicated
26 system of classification, we can note the
27 following major categories of names.

28 (1) Names which describe fauna or faunal activities.

29 This is a relatively well-
30 populated category containing about 50 names which read

Rillet & Sittichinli
In Chief

almost like an abbreviated catalogue of individual species of birds, fish, small creatures, game and fur-bearing animals found in the Peel River habitat. Individual creeks, lakes, hills and other features are named for the following: common loon, golden eagle, eagle nests, seagull, duck eggs, raven, scoter, waterfowl (in general) and the noise made by waterfowl on their return in the spring; otter, wolverine, and wolf; moose, moose calf, caribou, running caribou, caribou breeding grounds, sheep, grizzly bears, animal horns, worms and frogs; fish (in general), and several species including dog salmon, sucker, minnows, crookedback, jackfish, loche, inconnu, and fish spawning places.

The examples here include the following. The first example, edigii (kak), literally "on it breeding", and the understood reference there is to caribou, and this is a high plateau in the upper Peel region which has long been recognized as a breeding ground for caribou. The creek which flows along the base of this plateau to the Peel, Edigii njik, has come to be known as Caribou River in English, and Edigii (kak) itself is simply called Caribou Mountain.

Another example is Tidigeh van "seagull lake", is a small lake located inland from the Peel a few miles below Road River and is so named because of the presence of many seagulls which feed on the fish in the lake. Fairly straightforward.

Chehluk jal k'it, literally "loche jiggle place", is located near the mouth of the Peel River and is a favorite site for jigging for loche

Ritter & Sittichinli
In Chief

1 with hooks under ice after freezup.

2 (2) Names associated with particular individuals.

3 Certain creeks and sites bear
4 the names of people who have lived there for consider-
5 able lengths of time. Some areas (especially in the
6 Mackenzie Delta) are named for people still living;
7 others are associated with the names of people who have
8 died within the last 50 years; and others still bear
9 names of individuals who died long ago, i.e. were
10 not living when the oldest members of the present-day
11 band were themselves children. Interestingly enough,
12 however, the identities of these people are known to
13 this day, at least by the older residents.

14 Brass vizheh, "Brass house"
15 is now the side of a cabin once owned by a white man,
16 perhaps a Hudson's Bay Company employee, who lived
17 in the Peel River area before the turn of the century.

18 In the delta one finds names
19 such as Elijah viteetshik, "Elijah's Creek", John Robert
20 viteetshik, "John Robert's Creek"; and Johnny Semple
21 viteetshik, "Johnny Semple's Creek", all of recent
22 provenance definitely dating from a period after World
23 War I when most of the band trapped and hunted muskrats
24 there each spring.

25 (3) Names associated with flora.

26 12 toponyms contain references
27 to various species of trees such as birch, poplar,
28 willow, and spruce; others refer to the presence of
29 grass or berries; and a third group makes mention of
30 timber, dry wood and driftwood.

Filler, Sittichinli
In Chief

1 "Vichi' t'ik ts'iivii", literally
2 "on its top spruce". It means there's spruce on its top,
3 is the name of a well known hill in the upper Eagle River
4 area which is said to be covered with spruce trees, a
5 very direct correlation.

6 A second example, "Tl'oondii",
7 which means something like "grass growing down the sides",
8 is located not far above Fort McPherson. The sloping sides
9 of this range of hills are completely covered with
10 vegetation.

11 "Doo tat gwitshik", literally,
12 "amongst the driftwood creek" and this is one of the
13 principal channels flowing into Husky River at the upper
14 end of the Mackenzie Delta.

15 Category four, names associated
16 with aspects of material culture. Twenty-two names
17 refer to tools, artifacts, and traditional activities,
18 associated with subsistence pursuits. Some of these
19 names mention articles no longer in use and reflect con-
20 siderable antiquity. Included in this category are names
21 which refer to caribou fences, caribou snares, rocks used
22 for cooking in pre-contact times, crystal and flint for
23 making fire. Other names mention such items as red ochre,
24 used for decorating snowshoes and toboggans, caches,
25 fishnets, rafts, lobstersticks and even dog food.

26 "Vakak chii natr'oondak", Vakak
27 chii natr'oondak van", literally, "on it rocks are
28 habitually picked up" is a lake in the upper Peel region
29 which was once important because the people there obtained
30 special rocks which could be heated and used for cooking

Pittet & Sittichinli
In Chief

1 food.

2 "Deeddhoo goonlii". "Deeddhoo
3 goonlii", "there are lots of stone scrapers" is a small
4 hill located approximately ten miles above Fort McPherson
5 where in early days stones were obtained which were
6 suitable for fashioning into scrapers used in tanning
7 skins.

8 "Tthall njuk", "caribou fence
9 creek", located in the area of Rat Pass, is so-named
10 because of the presence of a traditional wooden corral
11 once used for capturing large numbers of caribou before
12 guns were introduced into the culture. And for those of
13 you who happened to catch "Science Magazine" last night,
14 you know what's being referred to here.

15 Category five, names associated
16 with historical events. Included in this category are
17 names which commemorate events which were significant
18 in the history of the band. These events include en-
19 counters and wars with the Eskimo, drownings, the killing
20 of a man by a black bear, starvation, encampments in
21 Peel River country by miners making their way to the
22 Klondike gold fields and the more recent vintage, the murder of
23 an R.C.M.P. officer by Albert Johnson so-called "Mad
24 Trapper of Rat River".

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
26 Mr. Ritter. Just pausing there, you may come to this
27 but when I was in McPherson, people referred to "Destruc-
28 tion City" which I take it was an encampment of the
29 Klondikers. Do you know if -- and it was down the Peel
30 from McPherson. Do you know whether there are any

Ritter & Sittichinli
In Chief

1 historical records made by white people of that encampment;
2 how many Klondikers stayed there? This is irrelevant to
3 your paper.

4 A I don't know of any historical
5 cal records, the people who were there. There is one
6 book, recent book entitled "The Golden Grindstone"
7 written by a man who did come through in '98 and he
8 in fact, however, camped at this place they call "Wind
9 City" which we'll come to in a minute. During the course
10 of his journey through he broke his knee, and he was
11 taken in by the chief of the Peel River band and the
12 Chief's mother and another lady performed surgery on
13 him. He stayed with the band all winter and eventually
14 they brought him back down to McPherson. That's the
15 only account I'm aware of of actually first-hand accounts
16 of people travelling through the country, but I'm sure
17 Jim knows about Destruction City.

18 WITNESS SITTICHINLI: Destruction
19 tion City got the name after 1898 when the miners were
20 going through there. That's as far as they can go with
21 the boat, to Destruction City. Before that, my people
22 have been travelling into there and that's where they
23 leave their canoe during summer when they go out to get
24 their flint, ^{and} caribou skin. It's a place where they -- I
25 would call it like boat landing. Tr'ih zhi tagodi',
26 a place where they land and leave their boats, their canoes
27 while they are hunting.

28 Now, since the gold rush days,
29 in 1898, a lot of white names have come into that area.
30 where Summit Lake. We used to call it Blue Lake.

Ritter, & Sittichinli
In Chief

1 Just beyond there is Bell River. Well, that used
2 to be called chii vee njik. Now, a lot of names have been
3 changed since 1898 but before that, they had Indian
4 names like (Indian names)
5 all them names.

6 Q Just one question before we^x
7 leave this fascinating subject, why is that boat landing
8 where the Klondikers presumably camped, why is it called
9 "Destruction City"? What happened? Did something happen
10 there?

11 A Yes. Some of them came in
12 with quite a outfit but they can't go past Destruction
13 City. The water started to get rough, shallow. No more
14 big boats. So, they put up camp there, tear up all
15 their boats, destruct all their boats you^{know} structure and
16 then haul them over to Bell River in the winter. Now,
17 this Bell River was called after Doctor Bell. He had a
18 big outfit. He had a little steam boat and he also tore
19 up all his little steam boat and then they portaged over
20 Summit Lake into Bell River and they rebuilt that boat
21 again at Bell River and since that time, it's called "Bell
22 River. Yes, it's by Dr. Bell.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, thank
24 you very much Mr. Sittichinli.

25 A Yes. O.K.

26 Q Well, carry on Mr. Ritter,
27 sorry to interrupt.

28 WITNESS RITTER: So, these
29 are names associated with historical events.

30 One example I'd like to call

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1 to
2 attention/ is a creek called "Taa'aii Khanjilnaii", literal-
3 ly, "broken up paddles", now called "Paddle Creek" in
4 English is located approximately mid-way between
5 Caribou River and Snake River. It bears this name
6 because, according to report at one time a small band
7 of Eskimo intruders managed to penetrate that far south
8 into the heartland of Peel River country. It is said
9 that by the time the Eskimos had travelled that far up
10 the Peel, they were compelled to stop at the mouth of
11 this creek and fashion new paddles because their old ones
12 had become worn out after such lengthy and difficult
13 travel.

14 It is not clear whether this
15 was an isolated event or whether the Eskimos managed on
16 more than one occasion to penetrate that deeply into
17 undisputed Kutchin country.
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1 It may be impossible to resolve
2 this issue, but the event must have occurred in pre-
3 contact times because none of the historical accounts
4 of the Kutchin-Inuit encounters make reference to this
5 particular region and all reported skirmishes and battles
6 took place in the lower Peel region. The evidence
7 provided by the place name thus suggests that in some
8 pre-contact period the Mackenzie Eskimos were able to
9 make at least one lengthy incursion into what must have
10 been, at the time, hostile foreign territory.

11 Another example is Wind City,
12 located only a few miles above the mouth of the Wind
13 River, was the site of a large encampment of miners
14 during the winter of 1899-1900, and here I've footnoted
15 this book by Graham entitled "Golden Grindstone" which
16 describes the hardships that the miners suffered.

17 6. Names associated with mythological events.

18 According to traditional lore,
19 at least two rock formations in Peel River country were
20 created by supernatural means. Shiɫdii, for which no
21 one seems to have a translation that satisfies everyone,
22 shiɫdii is a sandstone formation located on top of a
23 small hill several miles above Fort McPherson. It is
24 said to represent the fossilized remains of two brothers
25 who were turned into stone when their younger sister
26 inadvertently violated a taboo imposed on her at puberty.
27 The second example is Eketsii va'an, "Eketsii's Cave",
28 is a large hole located at the base of a cliff situated
29 at the lower end of the Peel River Canyon. Eketsii,
30 a legendary Peel River man, was the sole survivor of a

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group of people who were massacred by Slavey Indians, possibly Mountain Indians. According to the legend, Eketsii was being pursued by the enemy when he shouted out to the cliff which immediately opened up to permit him to enter and escape the fate which had befallen his kinsmen. Quite a story behind this cave.

7. Purely descriptive names.

This is a general category which includes names about which little can be noted other than the fact that they describe some defining physical features of their reference in a fairly concrete way. Numerically it is a large category and comprises approximately 70 names. Included here are names of various water courses (creeks, rivers, channels) which are described by particular characteristics of their currents.

To wit, vinidiinlaili, "water flows against its base" is the Kutchin name for Mount Deception located approximately 15 miles above the point at which the Wind River enters the Peel. The current flows right along the base of the mountain.

Nitainlaili, literally "water flowing over the rocks", is now commonly called Eight Mile in English because of its distance from Fort McPherson. The creek, which shares its name with the surrounding area, is distinguished only by the presence of a small waterfall.

THE COMMISSIONER: Is that in the vicinity of the crossing of the Dempster?

A It's right there, it's

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1 right there. That's where the Vittrewka encampment is,
2 I think you were up there.

3 Q Yes.

4 A The third example here,
5 shrehtadhadlaili, "water splits up into several
6 channels", this describes the general area at the mouth
7 of the Husky River on the lower Peel. You may note
8 that all three of these names end in essentially the
9 same syllable, "laili" -- vinidiinlaili, nitainlaili,
10 shrehtadhadlaili, all three of these names are actually
11 verb forms, and this last part of "laili" is a basic
12 stem which simply means "water flows". The rest of the
13 word is sort of, the prefixal part which sort of adds
14 the adverbial significance of the flow of water.

15 Also included in this category
16 of pure descriptive names are those which describe the
17 colors of rocks and sand found in particular areas.
18 The Kutchin name for Bell River is Chii vee njik "grey
19 rocks river", the Bonnet Plume River is traditionally
20 called "Tsaih tl'ak njik, "dark sands river", and the
21 Blackstone River, one of the very few which bears an
22 official English designation which comes close to capturing
23 the native name, is known as Tth'oh zrail njik,
24 "black shale river".

25 8. Metaphorical names.

26 This is not an extensive cate-
27 gory but is an interesting one, nonetheless. Hart River
28 -- spelled H-A-R-T -- in the Northern Yukon (named after
29 an early prospector in the region) is called Edrii njik
30 "heart river" by the Kutchin because a large rock

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1 formation, edrii, "heart" is located midway up the
2 course of the river. The rock is said to bear a
3 striking resemblance to a moose heart.

4 Eltin ts'ik nyuudlii, "jackfish
5 guts lying about", is an extremely contorted section of
6 Caribou River and is said to look like twisted fish
7 guts.

8 Dachan ch'ik ddhaa', "wooden
9 plate mountain", now known in English as Scow Mountain
10 or Steamboat Mountain, is reputed to resemble an old-
11 fashioned birch-bark dish because one section of it is
12 conspicuously hollowed out.

13 Lishuunii ddhaa', "chimney
14 mountain", located in the upper reaches of the Peel,
15 is said to resemble a stone chimney. So these are
16 metaphorical names.

17 9. I've revised and I'd like to read this into the
18 record, It's different from the previous version.
19 Category 9 are what I call names of foreign origin.

20 Only a small number of names
21 of foreign origin have been assimilated into the
22 corpus of Peel River geographical terms. Included in
23 this category are from the Han or possibly Northern
24 Tutchone language, Ts'ok iitlin, which I think
25 means "lots of spruce", a wooded area located near
26 Chapman Lake in the upper Blackstone River area; and
27 from French, La chute, a creek located across the
28 Richardson Mountains from Fort McPherson on the trail
29 to La Pierre House.

30 THE COMMISSIONER: You said

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1 from the Han language, and what did you say after
2 that?

3 A If may be from Northern
4 Tutchone , I'm not --

5 Q From where?

6 A The Northern Tutchone
7 language. It could well be from the people of Stewart
8 River area. I'm not really sure of the origin except that
9 "ts'ok" is the word for spruce in both those languages,
10 and there's some uncertainty. But definitely it's not
11 of Peel River origin. It's a borrowing of some sort.

12 Names adopted from English
13 require a separate comment. In this regard a
14 distinction must be drawn between names from English,
15 which were introduced from the outside, and have
16 subsequently been assimilated into colloquial usage,
17 and names which have been coined in English by the
18 Kutchin. The former category include such names as
19 Rat River, Bell River, Porcupine River, and Hungry Lake.
20 In each case these terms coexist with the traditional
21 names, although the meanings of them are quite
22 different in each case. I am as yet unable to tell
23 when these English names were first introduced and
24 recognized as official by the Canadian Permit Committee
25 on Geographical Names, but they have in any case become
26 commonly used and recognized by the native people.

27 English names originating
28 among the Kutchin include Three Cabin Creek, a relative-
29 ly recent designation for Tr'ineediaii,
30 a creek which enters the Peel approximately 30 miles

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1 above Fort McPherson and Frying Pan Creek, located
2 between the Snake and Bonnet Plume Rivers. Also to be
3 mentioned here is a phenomenon of what I term name
4 shifts, cases in which the native Kutchin term coexists
5 with or is being replaced by an English term which
6 approximates the meaning of the Kutchin original; but
7 whereas the traditional names may be quite descriptive,
8 when translated into English they become shortened
9 and abbreviated, often quite severely, and the
10 resulting names can bear an indirect and ^{sometimes} even misleading
11 relationship to the original. So for example, shoh diidhat khaii
12 /^{tshik}literally, "a black bear killed one of us", has become
13 in English, Bear Creek.

14 Divii daaghoo njik "sheep bleeting
15 creek", is colloquially called Sheep Creek.

16 Ddhah diik'ee njik "sharp ridged
17 mountain creek" is simply called Mountain Creek.

18 So you can get an indication
19 there of what's lost in translation when they enter
20 English.

21 Returning to the main body of
22 the text.

23 10. Unanalyzable or opaque names.
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1 Aside from those geographical
2 names with clear or relatively transparent meanings,
3 there remains a residue of perhaps twenty toponyms
4 names for which it seems impossible to determine satis-
5 factory translations. In some cases moreover, the names
6 easily become subject to folk-etymologizing and to
7 various guessing games and much confusion vis à vis "the
8 ture meaning" abounds, even among the most knowledgeable
9 older members of the band.

10 However, this is not an unusual
11 or even unexpected result, simply because some names are
12 so old that in the course of time their original meanings
13 descriptive or otherwise have been forgotten and they
14 survive as fossilized terms tout court. This general
15 process is apparently universal among the languages of
16 the world.

17 To conclude this section on
18 categories of Kutchin place-names, it may be fitting to
19 draw attention to one theoretically possible category
20 which is, in fact, not at all attested; "honorary" names.
21 Whereas in our own culture it has become common place to
22 name mountains, rivers, glaciers, etc., after individuals
23 who may be well known or distinguished in some sense, but
24 who may never have seen the areas in question, this prac-
25 tise is unknown to the Kutchin.

26 THE COMMISSIONER: We confer
27 names and then we take them away again.

28 A Not quite.

29 Q I'm thinking of Mt.

30 Eisenhower.

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A And the Cape Kennedy.

I gave Cape Kennedy as an example but apparently it's no longer the case.

This practise is unknown to the Kutchin. A person's name becomes attached to a specific site only if he has lived there for a considerable length of time or some striking event involving an individual has taken place there. There is no Kutchin equivalent to such English place names as Mt. Burgess, Mt. McKinley or Cape Kennedy; and things of that sort.

6. A brief apercu of Peel River history since time of contact. We shall see below that certain generalizations concerning Kutchin land use will emerge from the toponymic data which we have just reviewed but in order to provide a context in which those generalizations may be understood it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of Peel River history. Following Slobodin's carefully detailed exposition, we can note the following stages in the history of the band since 1839 when the Hudson's Bay Company explorer John Bell first made contact with the Teetl'it Gwich'in at Vihtl'oo tshik, present-day Road River.

It is known that at the time of contact, the Peel River people spent most of the winter months hunting caribou in the mountainous regions of the upper Peel drainage, especially in the Richardson and Ogilvie mountain ranges. During early spring, the band gathered at a place called "Khatainlaii ehdi", located near the mouth of the Bonnet Plume River and there they constructed skin boats which, after the break-up of ice, they used to descend the Peel to an area near present day Road River.

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1 During the summer months, the people fished, using tradi-
2 tional traps at various places along the Peel. The
3 lowest stretches of the river were generally avoided
4 because of the possible presence of Eskimos.

5 When John Bell first met the
6 Kutchin chief Vihshriiniintsaiti at Road River, he was
7 urged to erect the proposed trading post at that very
8 site because it was an established gathering place for
9 the band and would easily serve their needs. However,
10 the Hudson Bay Company was equally intent on trading
11 with the Mackenzie Eskimos and the Arctic Red River
12 Kutchin and so it was decided that the post would be
13 constructed further downstream at an area which is today
14 called Zheh gwajat, Old Fort, approximately four
15 miles above Fort McPherson.

16 During the first twenty years
17 of its existence, Peel River post was visited only
18 occasionally by members of the Peel River band who did
19 not become quickly involved in the fur trade. As
20 Slobodin has noted, very little fur was sold by members
21 of the Peel River band and most of the post's return
22 consisted of furs brought in by the Eskimos and the
23 Arctic Red River Kutchin. However, as time passed,
24 members of the band began to visit the post more
25 regularly during the summers and many families began to
26 fish at points further south than had previously been
27 their custom. Points further north, I'm very sorry.
28 Further north downriver.

29 By the last decade of the
30 century, the Indians had become regular visitors to the

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1 post and had become extensively involved in trapping
2 for fine furs during the winters.

3 During the same period, Eskimos
4 began to trade at the post on a regular basis during
5 the summers. Hostilities between the two groups
6 gradually subsided.

7 This pattern, winter in the upper
8 Peel, summer on the lower Peel; continued until the
9 time of the Klondike Gold Rush. At that time, there
10 occurred a dramatic shift in the band, a definite
11 realignment to the upper Peel areas. Once the frenetic
12 activity in the Dawson gold fields had begun, the band
13 found that it could easily and profitably sell meat to
14 the mining camps in the area and could, at the same time,
15 sell its winter furs to dealers in Dawson for prices
16 often higher than had been offered in Fort McPherson.

17 During this period, most of the
18 Peel River band spent the entire winter and spring in
19 the upper Blackstone, Hart and Wind River regions and in
20 summer moved to the Han Village of Moosehide, located a
21 few miles below Dawson to fish in the Yukon River.

22 This pattern continued until
23 approximately 1912 when the band once again shifted its
24 locus of activity back to the lower Peel region. During
25 this period, fur prices began to rise dramatically and
26 many families began to spend spring in the Mackenzie
27 Delta hunting muskrats. Winter hunting could be carried
28 out in the area of the northern Richardson Mountains and
29 sojourns to the upper Peel drainage became more and
30 more infrequent. The Peel River band became firmly

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1 realigned toward the Mackenzie Delta and the lower Peel.

2 This pattern has continued to
3 the present with one important exception. During World
4 War II, fur prices again rose sharply and a number of
5 families began trapping once again in the upriver regions
6 which were at the time well populated with marten.

7 In some cases, the people did not even return to Fort
8 McPherson for traditional Christmas and New Year's
9 festivities. This marked the first time in 20 years that
10 any Peel River people had passed the entire winter in
11 the mountains upriver.

12 But by 1946, the cycle had
13 changed once again and the people had returned to the
14 lower Peel. Even so, as Slobodin notes, the people had
15 kept up the franchise on that portion of their habitat
16 and:

17 "It may be therefore maintained that the Peel River
18 Kutchin have occupied virtually the same overall
19 habitat during their known history."

20 It is important to note,
21 finally, that even within the last several years a few
22 families and individuals have spent a part of the winter
23 months trapping in the Upper Peel drainage.

24 A few general observations may
25 be made on the basis of this severely abbreviated account
26 of Peel River Kutchin place names and post-contact
27 history.

28 1. The traditional names which have proven to be the
29 most difficult to translate including those for which no
30 adequate translations can be agreed upon at all designate

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 In Chief

1 in most cases areas in the upper Peel regions. Conversely,
 2 place names of the lower Peel and the delta are relatively
 3 transparent and, as previously noted, often refer to
 4 specific individuals whose identities are generally
 5 known. This situation is explained by the fact that
 6 movement into the Mackenzie Delta and exploitation of
 7 the resources of the lower Peel are both relatively
 8 recent phenomena whereas the upper Peel regions have no
 9 doubt been inhabited for many generations.

10 Recall that the Teetl'it Gwich'in
 11 are the "people who live at the head of the waters" Evi-
 12 dence provided by Kutchin place-names independently
 13 confirms therefore, what is known about the post-contact
 14 history of the Peel River people.

15 2. A cursory inspection of the accompanying maps will
 16 immediately reveal that certain areas within the general
 17 borders of Peel River country are more densely named
 18 than others. This clustering together of named sites is
 19 a reflection of intensive, sustained land use patterns
 20 in these regions. These areas include , for example,
 21 the entire course of the Peel from Fort McPherson south
 22 to the Snake, Bonnet Plume, Wind, Hart, and Blackstone
 23 Rivers. Other regions, particularly the more southern
 24 areas of the Peel Preserve are less well represented
 25 with traditional names and are not recognized as having
 26 been widely exploited by the band at any particular part
 27 of its known history.

28 3. Although Fort McPherson itself lies within the
 29 Northwest Territories, the vast majority of lands
 30 traditionally occupied by the Peel River band are

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1 technically bounded by Yukon Territory borders. Once
2 consequence of this fact is that the band has over the
3 years had to deal with two sets of game officials and
4 regulations. Although few difficulties have arisen in
5 the recent past and although the band maintains the
6 group trapping zone officially recognized by the Yukon
7 Game Branch, we do know that in earlier years poor
8 communications regarding limits and open season often
9 resulted in confusion and difficulties for the band,
10 including on more than one occasion, fur confiscation.
11 This border issue has other ramifications as well and will
12 no doubt be seriously taken into consideration at such
13 time as land claims are negotiated between the band
14 and the Federal Government.

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1 8. Conclusions.

2 Finally, we have seen that
3 traditional Kutchin place names serve collectively
4 to define the extent of lands occupied by three indi-
5 vidual bands. An examination of Peel River history has
6 revealed that population shifts have occurred periodically
7 since the time of contact and these are to some extent
8 reflected in the nature of the geographic nomenclature
9 itself. Finally, we have seen that a body of traditional
10 knowledge can illuminate and explain patterns of land
11 use and occupancy by the original inhabitants of one
12 part of the Canadian north.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
14 sir. I wonder if, where you interpolated a page or
15 two dealing with the adoption of English place names
16 and so forth, you might just give those pages to Miss
17 Hutchinson and perhaps she could photostat them and
18 we could just insert them in our -- in the prepared
19 statement, if it's something that is in a state where
20 it could be photostated this afternoon.

21 A Yes. That's no problem.

22 MR. BELL: Mr. Commissioner,
23 Mr. Sittichinli is well known to all of us. However,
24 I think perhaps for those who come later, I might ask
25 Mr. Sittichinli for a little information about himself.

26 Mr. Sittichinli, you're
27 a member of the Loucheux Band at Aklavik.

28 WITNESS SITTICHINLI: That's
29 right.

30 Q And which of the three

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In Chief

1 groups of Peel River Indians, of Loucheux Indians would
2 you consider yourself a member of?

3 A Well, I'm of Peel River.

4 Q Peel River, the head of the
5 waters people.

6 A M-hm.

7 Q And are you familiar with
8 the area that Mr. Ritter described in his study?

9 A Not too much up the Peel
10 River way because I gave up my Indian way of life quite
11 early in my days, 19 years old. That's when I gave up
12 hunting and trapping very much, but I've been up the
13 river, I've been one time I was up the river to hunt.

14 Q And you're familiar with
15 many of the names that are mentioned?

16 A Very much, every time,
17 although I've never seen the place I heard so much about
18 it, it just give me exact spot where the places are.

19 Q So you would say that
20 Mr. Ritter is accurate in his study concerning where
21 these place names are and what their names are?

22 A Yes, although as I told
23 you before I haven't been to many places, but still by
24 the name I know exactly just whereabouts, with the
25 Indian name. Some, as I told Judge Berger, that's
26 since the Klondike Days, lots of these names have
27 grown into English, they are changing, so we call them
28 by English now and since when the R.C.M.P. patrol was
29 working between Dawson and McPherson they have changed
30 a lot of these names into white language, but still

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1 whenever they mention it in Loucheux, I just know
2 exactly whereabouts it is.

3 Q Thank you.

4 A So it's no problem.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: May I ask
6 you a question, Mr. Sittichinli? What do you think of
7 Mr. Ritter's pronunciation of these names, how is he
8 doing?

9 A Right on.

10 (LAUGHTER)

11 He never leave one word out. On T.V. you listen with
12 this day you'll find out.

13 MR. BELL: The exhibits for
14 this panel, sir, are the statements of evidence and the
15 appendices, and maps that you see on the wall there.
16 Or a copy of the map that you see on the wall there.

17 THE COMMISSIONER: You were
18 going to, I think, enlarge on the --

19 WITNESS RITTER: Yes, I was
20 going to point out some of the details here. As you
21 can see, here we have basically two sets of maps. The
22 ones on the left are the provisional --

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
24 before you go further, do you want Mr. Ritter to use
25 a microphone?

26 A The ones on the left are
27 the ones in blue and white are 1:50,000 scale maps
28 of the delta region; whereas the ones on the right are
29 1:250,00 scale maps. Basically when we focused our
30 attention on the Mackenzie Delta, which you

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1 can see up here, there wasn't room on these maps
2 to cover -- to make allowance for all the names we
3 had recorded. So on the left here basically this
4 is Fort McPherson and covers the area above Fort McPherson
5 on the Peel down and it passes onto the Husky River
6 around the points on the Peel to the Mackenzie. This
7 is the Mackenzie flowing north and down toward the
8 delta and eventually to Inuvik.

9 However, let's look first at
10 the map on the right because these will give you a general
11 idea. We could review the sort of outline of
12 areas of named territories.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: You might just
14 point out where McPherson, and Arctic Red and Inuvik
15 are on this map so we can orient ourselves.

16 A All right. This is not
17 very clear. Fort McPherson is right here. There's
18 Arctic Red River; Aklavik is down below, and Inuvik
19 is somewhere right about here. To the right you have
20 the Mackenzie River flowing from the south, and this
21 is the whole Peel-Mackenzie Delta. This white
22 area you see here is the background -- the backbone
23 of the Richardson Mountains. If we look first at --

24 Q Is Old Crow on that map
25 too?

26 A Old Crow is over here on
27 the left. At the top we have Crow Flats, with all the
28 lakes. If we look first at the Arctic Red River side
29 you can see at the far north here this green and
30 white border represents roughly the treeline, and the furthest

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1 to the east name that we have named by the Arctic
2 Red River people is the Anderson River, which is called
3 Shryuh choo njik . Names in through this region, and
4 this is Travaillant Lake right here. This is a fairly
5 flat expanse of country and as I said in the presenta-
6 tion, the name of the Arctic Red River people is
7 Gwichyah Gwich'in and Gwichyah refers to a large flat
8 expanse of land.

9 The Arctic Red River itself
10 starts in this general region and flows like this. Here
11 is Old Martin House, right down to the mouth of Arctic
12 Red on the Mackenzie, and basically everything to the
13 right on the map is named by the Arctic Red River
14 people. I don't have the boundary drawn because this
15 is the only set of originals we have; but basically
16 everything to the east of the line like this would be
17 named by the Arctic Red River people.

18 Now if we can focus our
19 attention first on the Old Crow side, I'd like to point
20 out that although we have names recorded, our art work
21 is lagging somewhat behind. In fact the names we've
22 recorded in this area have not yet been put on the
23 maps. But basically those areas include of course all
24 of Crow Flats , the area up the Porcupine River, the
25 headwaters of the Porcupine and this region would be
26 the Old Crow territory.

27 Now what's left between, what's
28 sandwiched in between are areas occupied by the Peel
29 River people, and I don't know how well you can see from
30 a distance, I suspect not very well; but the main course

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1 going up-river is something like this. You wind your
2 way up about here, and you have a Snake River flowing
3 in. The next large river is the Bonnet Plume River. The
4 next one is the Wind River. Then you have the Hart River
5 and the Blackstone. On this side the Ogilvie, the
6 headwaters of the Ogilvie. So basically all these rivers
7 flow south and collectively form the main body of the
8 Peel. There's a bend right here and it flows down to
9 the delta.

10 Now to briefly recap some of
11 the points I've made in the concluding sections of the
12 report. Road River, which is located right here,
13 called Vihtl'oo tshik in the native language, was a
14 site of the first contact by Hudson's Bay people with
15 the Peel River Band. It was here that John Bell
16 met chief Vihshriiniintsaiti' and discussed the
17 possibility of erecting a fur trade post.

18 At that time it was known that
19 during the winters the Peel River Band spent most of
20 its time in this upriver region, and through here.
21 So basically the headwaters of the Bonnet Plume, the
22 Wind, the Hart, the Blackstone, this is, if you like,
23 as far as we can extrapolate, the ur-heimat of these people.
24 In fact their name for themselves, Teet'it Gwichin means
25 "head of the water-people" which refers to this general
26 area. So by and large in winter this is where the
27 band spent its time hunting caribou.

28 Along the course of the Peel
29 here, just before the mouth of the Bonnet Plume, there's
30 a place called the Peel River Canyon. In the native

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1 language it's called Chuu tr'adaodiich'uu.

2 Literally it means hateful, hateful waters, rough hate-
3 ful waters. A very narrow stretch of the Peel, and
4 above that right about here is a place called Khatainlaii ehdi',
5 and every spring the band would gather here and build
6 skin boats. Once the waters -- once the ice had broke
7 up and the waters were flowing again they would descend
8 the Peel down to this region and would spend the summer
9 fishing at various points along this stretch of the
10 Peel.

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1 In general, they did not exploit
2 the lower sections of the Peel region because of the
3 hostilities that existed between them and the Mackenzie
4 Eskimo. So again the chief suggested that the post
5 to be built here at Road River, but in order that the
6 post serve the other groups as well, it was built
7 approximately right here.

8 During the first years that
9 the post was open, the Peel River people still wintered
10 in this region and fished in summer in this region.
11 There were not immediately drawn into the fur trade
12 and it was only much later towards the end of the century
13 that they gradually began to shift in summer their base
14 of activities further down towards ^{present day} Fort McPherson.

15 So this pattern continued until
16 about the time of the Klondike Gold Rush, namely winters
17 in the upper Peel and summers in the lower Peel. Then
18 Dawson City, which is down right here, was of course the
19 site of all the gold rush activity, and there was a shift
20 in the band, they began to move into this general region,
21 and would spend all of winter and spring in this
22 region in the upper Blackstone and upper Hart, and here
23 they would hunt, trap, and they would travel into Dawson
24 and into the mining camps and sell meat and furs, and
25 they were during that period of about 12 years, this
26 was their locus. In summertime they would fish again,
27 but only down the Klondike River.

28 That pattern continued again
29 until about 1917 or so when the price of muskrats shot
30 quite high, and shifted back again into this region,

1 and began to hunt on an annual basis in the Mackenzie
2 Delta for muskrats.

Some of the places which I've mentioned I'd like to point out to you now. This is Peel River Canyon, again chuu tr'adoodiich'un means "hateful waters". It was here that the stone formation called shi'dii was found. This is sort of fabled region, it's very, very much traditional country. Here is Hungry Lake or Van choo, it's called in Loucheux, and this area was quite actively trapped even in the '40s. Further down, this region encircled here is Edigii kak, this is a plateau which we described as being one of the caribou breeding areas, and this creek which flows along there and into the Peel is called Edigii njik or Caribou River.

The next major river is Trail Creek, it's fairly reasonable of a translation of Tr'atr'aatai tshik which is "people's trail" creek. The next one is Road River, called Vihtl'oo tshils, and Vihtl'oo actually is flint. It was in the headwaters of this creek that flint was taken aboriginally and used for making fire.

22 Paddle Creek or Taa'aii Khanjilnaili
23 is right here. That was worthy of note because it's
24 quite a distance, as you can see, from the Mackenzie
25 for a group of outsiders to penetrate. It was quite a
26 long trip, especially by canoe, I'm sure, against the
27 current. This apparently was a site of the Eskimos
28 gathering to build themselves new paddles.

Another area named for Eskimos
is a place right along here, called enekaii techuuch'eii

~~Rat Pass~~ Sittichinli
In Chief

1 which means something like "Eskimos draw their bow
2 strings." So you can see there had been some intrusion
3 into this country by the Mackenzie Eskimos.

4 The area of Rat Pass, which is
5 approximately here, is a well-travelled route, and it
6 was in fact this route followed by some of the miners
7 in '98, Destruction City is roughly here, I think.

8 The miners would make their way by portage over through
9 Bell River, come down and could follow that route.

10 I'd like to point out one simplification we have made
11 all along here, and that has to do with the area around
12 La Pierre House. It used to be a fur trading post in
13 the late 19th century, and in fact it was a fourth group
14 of Kutchin people who lived in this general region. We
15 know that they were called the Dagoo gwich'in and they
16 were never as populous as either the people who now
17 live in Old Crow or the ones who now live in Fort McPherson.
18 But by the end of the century the band had split up and
19 its few remaining members had affiliated either with the
20 Fort McPherson Band or with the Old Crow Band. So there
21 was this middle area, and in fact today this region of
22 Eagle River flowing up this way has been exploited both
23 by people from Old Crow and from Fort McPherson. There
24 is some overlap in land use in this area.

25 The Caribou Fence region is
26 up here. There are some others further up but we don't
27 have the map for that region; but tthał njik
28 Caribou Fence Creek is located in this area in the Rat Pass.
29 There's another area along here called tthał daii dha'aii
30 which means "caribou corral opening" in this general

Ritter & Sittichinli
In Chief

1 region. O.K., so basically if we use the place names
2 we get a good overview of land occupied by these bands
3 for as long as we've known them. Again, I think we
4 should look too to see where the border is here. Basi-
5 cally the N.W.T. border and Yukon goes something like
6 this and up like this, in which case we see that the
7 most^{of the} traditional Peel River country in fact is in the
8 Yukon Territory.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Where does
10 the border cut across the Peel again?

11 A Approximately here, which
12 I think is **only** 30-odd miles from Fort McPherson.

13 Finally, sketsii va'an
14 "the rock" supposedly opened by supernatural means, is
15 located here. I'm sure every man, woman and child knows
16 the story behind that formation.

17 On the right again, this is a
18 much more detailed map of the region extending from a
19 few miles above Fort McPherson down to the mouth of the
20 Peel and Mackenzie River. There are more names in the
21 delta, we don't have them all sketched in yet. Husky
22 Lakes, Freckalii van', and here again is Fort McPherson.

23 So basically then I think from
24 this complex, the composite areas named we gather a
25 fairly clear picture of the extent of lands occupied
26 by these bands.

27 MR. BELL: Mr. Ritter and Mr.
28 Sittichinli are now available for cross-examination.

29 MR. GOUDGE: Mr. Bayly is not
30 here, I notice. I think that would mean that Mr.

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Hollingworth is next.

2 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I have no
3 questions.

4 MR. GOUDGE: Mr. Steeves?

5 MR. STEEVES: I have no questions,
6 sir.

7 MR. GOUDGE: That leaves me,
8 sir.

9

10 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GOUDGE:

11 Q Mr. Ritter, I have one or
12 two questions for you. I take it that basically you
13 say two things to us about your research. First of all
14 we can tell a certain amount about the intensity of
15 land use from where the names appear on the map.

16 A That's correct.

17 Q And secondly we can tell
18 something about the attitude of the people to the land
19 from the kind of names they chose.

20 A Indeed.

21 Q Now, let me deal with the
22 second point first. You categorized the names in your
23 research into approximately ten sub-categories, as I
24 read you. If you were to undertake a similar task for
25 say the part of the world I come from, Southern Ontario,
26 would you be able to fit the place names into those
27 categories, or would you have to add other categories?

28 A I suspect you might have
29 to add other categories including the category of
30 honorifics. I think a lot of the categories which

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 I have used in describing the Peel River names would
2 also hold for English names. I think most of them can.

3 Q Yes, the honorary name
4 category, if we can call it that, is one that you
5 specifically point out. Are there any others that would
6 occur to you as being of common place usage for example
7 in Southern Ontario that you wouldn't find in the
8 area that you studied?

9 A Not offhand. If I thought
10 about it I might come up with something. I think in
11 my own area of southern West Virginia, I know there
12 that a lot of the creeks are named after wildlife, and
13 also specific settlers that came into the region. There
14 may be some working there that would not fit into these
15 categories and might not hold for the Kutchin, but
16 offhand I can't think of any.

17 Q Is it fair then to draw
18 the parallel for West Virginia that when the places there
19 were named attitudes towards the places being named
20 were similar to the attitudes that you see exemplified
21 by the choice of names in the area you've been telling
22 us about?

23 A Yes, I think that's fair.

24 Q Now, as to the first point
25 you tell us about, that is the intensity of land use,
26 just so we'll be absolutely clear I take it current
27 land use is not necessarily revealed by the number of
28 points you place on the map.

29 A No, I think this is an
30 important distinction that I'd like to make, that to

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 borrow an analogy from linguistics, we speak of diacronic
2 studies and synchronic studies. Basically a diacronic
3 study is one that talks about history.
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Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Q What is that word sir?

2 A Diachronic and synchronic;
3 a synchronic study would be one dealing with the
4 present-day status of language, so that a diachronic
5 study of English would describe how we speak right now
6 and a synchronic study of English would describe how
7 we speak now and a diachronic study would deal with the
8 history of the English language.

9 O.K. In similar fashion, I
10 think that the place-name study is to be distinguished
11 from a land use study on really the same basis that if
12 you went to Fort McPherson today and did a survey of
13 how the land was used, what regions; you would have a
14 synchronic picture, an overview of present day land use.
15 But that the place-name study is of a different sort.
16 We're dealing here' ^{with the} collective land use through time.
17 What we end up with is a pretty good picture of the
18 broad outlines of land use.

19 Do you follow me?

20 Q Yes. Collective land
21 use. That is, the land use that has existed at some
22 time or other, not necessarily now.

23 A Right.

24 Q Now, one or two questions
25 relating to specifics. You say on page seven of your
26 prepared evidence that there are in your research a
27 variety of specific water related names and land related
28 names. Has it been your experience that there were names
29 developed for larger regions in this study area?

30 A Yes. So, for example, I've

1 sort of drawn out a distinction between the lower Peel
2 regions and the upper Peel regions and in fact, people
3 often refer to the area chuu tl'it un and that basically
4 ly means "head of the waters". It's really another
5 rendition of teetl'it and many stories start out
6 with chuu tl'it un "the people were moving" or
7 something like that, or the people were hunting.

8 So there's a general designation
9 tion for the upper Peel river areas, namely, Upper Snake,
10 upper Bonnet Plume, Wind, Hart and Blackstone.

11 Less specific than that, there
12 is an area in Eagle Plains called dachan tshik
13 which means -- no, I'm sorry dachan tr'ih which
14 means "wooden scow" but is actually a large, fairly
15 extensive flat-lands region.

16 Q So the names are by no
17 means confined to specific points?

18 A No.

19 Q One of the categories that
20 you describe in breaking down your place names is that
21 of personal names, if I can call it that. You break
22 those down further into three parts, those who are alive
23 now, those who were recently dead and those who are,
24 so to speak, beyond the memory of anybody alive today.
25 As between those three, are the more common personal
26 names in the first category? That is, those who are
27 alive now?

28 A Yes.

29 Q I take it correspondingly
30 the second most common would be those who are more

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 recently deceased and the least common, those who are
2 long deceased?

3 A Precisely.

4 Q Yes. Does that indicate
5 -- can we read anything at all into that for --

6 A What would you like to
7 read into it?

8 Q Well, for example, is it
9 possible to read into that that the concept of identify-
10 ing a piece of land with an individual is one of relatively
11 recent origin?

12 A I think subject to a few
13 qualifications, that's probably the case. As I've
14 noted, a number of creeks and areas in the Mackenzie
15 Delta are named after individuals still alive and of
16 course, that to some extent reflects the system of
17 registered trapping zones which, as I know, began in
18 the fourties. Elyah viteetskik, Elijah's Creek is in
19 fact the area which he staked out as his muskrat trapping
20 region thirty some years ago.

21 Q Where you have that kind
22 of individual identification, has it ever been the case
23 in your experience that those names have altered as the
24 user has altered?

25 A I don't know of any
26 examples of that in the delta and I'm trying to think
27 of regions further upriver. I know for example that
28 John Charlie who now lives at Road River has only been
29 there for -- how many years Jim would you say?

30 WITNESS SITTICHINLI: I don't

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 just how many years.

2 WITNESS RITTER: It was in the
3 last thirty or forty years, I'm sure and that's the
4 one case I know of of where someone has moved into a
5 region and I honestly can't say that I know of any new
6 name that has supplanted "Road River", even though John
7 Charlie has consistently made that his campsite. I've
8 never heard it referred to as John Charlie
9 or anything. It's still called "Road River" or Vihtl'oo
10 tshils. So I don't rule out that possibility but
11 I am at a loss right now to come up with an example of it.

12 Q Yes. Finally sir, I take
13 sir, I take it from your map there are recorded on the
14 map only the names that you've researched but there are
15 other areas for which there are names that you've not
16 yet assimilated into your project?

17 A Well, in fact, there are
18 some names which I am sorry to say are probably irretriev-
19 ably lost right now. I made a brief passing reference
20 to the area of the Peel River preserve. During the time
21 of the Dawson gold rush, not all of the band shifted to
22 the Yukon and a few families did stay behind, principal
23 one which was the Francis family, in fact
24 from a line of chiefs and the Francis family stayed in
25 the area of the Peel preserve and hunted beavers and
26 didn't become involved at all in the activities of the
27 Dawson gold rush.

28 So, that area in the upper
29 Preserve area is one for which we have a very, very few
30 names and at about the time ^{that} we had started this work, I

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 had talked with old John Francis about sharing some of
2 his knowledge of that area with us and the very week
3 before we were to begin our work, he died of a heart
4 attack. It so happens that his widow was not really from
5 that area. He had grown up there with his father and his
6 brothers and sisters but he was the sole remaining
7 sibling of that group and none of his children were that
8 familiar with the names. So, there's one area there
9 that, I'm sorry to say, is gone. You know, had we been
10 luckier and had John lived, we'd have been able to
11 paint in as it were an even fuller picture of the terri-
12 tory .

13 MR. GOUDGE: Thank you sir.
14 Those are all the questions I have.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Ritter,
16 Miss Nahanni who gave evidence on Thursday has said that
17 the name^{the} Slavey people gave to the Mackenzie River was
18 Deh-cho. That river would be known to the people of
19 Arctic Red, that is the Kutchin, is there -- they would,
20 I take it, have a different name for the river but perhaps
21 you might discuss that for a moment and tell me whether
22 these languages that the people speak -- the Indian
23 people speak in this valley have a common root, whether
24 they are related to each in any way?

25 A Yes, they are very
26 definitely related to each other. They are all members
27 of the great Athabaskan family. In fact, it's very
28 fortunate almost really for educational reasons that all
29 the languages of the Mackenzie Valley do belong to one
30 family because in a way it's akin to say romance so that

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Commissioner

1 although Slavey is quite different from Loucheux which
2 is quite different Dogrib, they have very, very similar
3 structures and it's certainly been my case that people
4 who speak one or the other don't have that much
5 difficulty or have not had much difficulty in learning
6 to speak the other languages as well. That's not to
7 say that you or I could go from Loucheux to Dogrib
8 very easily, but speakers of the languages apparently are
9 able to.

10 So, they are members of the
11 Athabascan family and those languages are also spoken
12 in central Alaska. In fact, most of the area encompassed
13 by the Tanana Chiefs region is Athabascan country.
14 It stretches further south into B.C. and Alberta. You
15 have Carrier and Chilcotin and Beaver. Then, there's
16 another pocket further south on the Pacific coast,
17 northern California, southern Oregon Hupa, and Wailaki
18 and languages of that sort and then the last group
19 is a southwestern group which includes Navajo and Apache.
20 So, in fact, the languages spoken in the Mackenzie
21 Corridor are genetically related to Navajo.

22 So, basically, they're all
23 from the same stock and they have very similar structures

24 Q You said "genetically"
25 related.

26 A That's another one of
27 these linguistic terms meaning "from a common origin",
28 that the similarities the languages display result from
29 a common origin and not from borrowing or aerial features.

30 Q Not from what?

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Commissioner

1 A Borrowing or aerial
2 features. They are geographically contiguous.

3 But to return to the name for
4 the Mackenzie River in Loucheux, it's
5 Nagwichoonjik which as best I can tell means some-
6 thing like "big flowing river".

7 Q Yes. Some people in
8 British Columbia call themselves Dene. Is that a word
9 that reappears?

10 A In Loucheux, it's Dinjii.
11 In central Yukon, it's Dun. In Navajo, it's Dene.
12 It's the same word throughout. It means "man".

13 Q With variance according
14 to each --

15 A To each language.

16 Q And its meaning is "people"
17 in each, is it?

18 A Yes.

19 Q One last question. Are
20 these the languages of the Indian people in the Mackenzie
21 related to the language of the Inuit people in any way?

22 A No way at all genetically
23 in terms of ultimate relationships. In fact, one of
24 the really interesting questions has been, are these
25 languages related to anything on the other side of the
26 Bering Straits and unfortunately, if you apply the
27 kinds of criteria which have been say, used to establish
28 the common origins of Indo-European languages, there is
29 no evidence at all that Athabascan is related to anything
30 on the other side of what would have been the Straits at

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Commissioner

1 the time. You know, it's been fairly carefully researched
2 among certain Paleo-Siberian languages, but there's just
3 -- if there are similarities, they seem to be quite
4 accidental and nothing far-reaching and deep.

5 So, it seems as far back as
6 we can push it, central Alaska is as far as it goes.

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Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q So that the language, if
2 it originated in Asia, has disappeared there.

3 A If it did. There are
4 no traces to this day that would confirm that.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, Mr.
6 Steeves?

7
8 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. STEEVES:

9 Q There's a question I
10 wanted to ask you, Mr. Ritter. Are you presently
11 developing a curriculum for use in the schools in the
12 Northwest Territories?

13 A Yes, I'm working on some
14 basic practical materials for use in teaching the
15 language. We've got a new practical alphabet for the
16 language, and we've done one small noun dictionary,
17 which has ^{since} been revised, and we hope to have another one
18 out in another month or so. We have an illustrated
19 children's dictionary, which is also ready to go to
20 press, and so yes, we're working very actively in the
21 area of bilingual education.

22 Q Well, **does** what you're doing
23 effect a change in policy about education in the
24 Territories?

25 A Well, actually most of my
26 own efforts are on my own, I have worked on occasion for
27 the N.W.T. Department of Education but my work now is
28 sponsored by the Yukon Territory Department of Education.
29 But generally as far as I can tell, yes, there has been
30 a very definite change in attitude on the part of the

1 educational authority not just toward the native lan-
2 guages but the inclusion of aspects of traditional
3 culture generally. Some might argue in fact not enough
4 is being done, in fact, I would argue that, but at least -

5 THE COMMISSIONER: What would
6 some argue?

7 A I would argue that not
8 enough has been done or is being done, my own efforts
9 included. But there has been a shift in general policy
10 and attitude at the say, departmental level.

11 MR. STEEVES: Well, what you
12 are doing now seems to be inconsistent with what I
13 understood was the enunciated policy, which was that
14 everybody in the north should be taught how to live in
15 the south or in southern ways. Is that so?

16 A Well, I happen to know
17 that the N.W.T. ^{has} been in some ways rather pioneering
18 and innovative in its curriculum work over the last
19 few years. I think certainly the time is long past
20 when say native languages are completely ignored.
21 I mean some work has been done.

22 Q Well, what's the objective
23 of the work you're doing, so that a child in Arctic Red
24 River can be bilingual, that is speak English?

25 A That would be one of the
26 aims of my work, very much so. As regards the place
27 name material, however, I think we lag behind a bit,
28 because although we have the data, and we have the
29 information, this is the sort of thing which you could
30 give to a group of university students. But for

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 material of this sort to be used in an elementary or
2 even a secondary classroom, we need slides, we need
3 teaching strategies, we need a syllabus, so it's going
4 to take a bit more work. We don't have everything
5 done yet. It will be a while.

MR. BELL:

6 As I understand it, the
7 educational system will be the subject of testimony
8 by other witnesses later in Phase 4.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Could I just
10 ask one thing? When I was in Old Crow, I went to the
11 church service at the Anglican Church. Mr. Sittichinli,
12 as a matter of fact, was conducting the service, and
13 there was a hymn book in English and a hymn book in
14 Loucheux. Now, what -- and an Anglican clergyman
15 many years ago had done this, translated the -- I guess
16 it was the Book of Common Prayer, I don't know, a hymn
17 book anyway, into Loucheux. Was that -- how do you
18 regard that particular hymn book, is it an attempt to
19 do what you're doing here, to just render in English
20 characters the sounds of the Loucheux words?

21 A I'll say a few words
22 about that, and I think maybe Jim will want to pick up
23 on it because he's quite familiar with it. Of all the
24 groups, the language groups in the north, only the
25 Kutchin or the Loucheux have a tradition of native
26 literacy. It was very much the work of Archdeacon Robert
27 McDonald who arrived on the scene approximately 1860
28 that that's come about. Basically, the alphabet he did his
29 syllabary, by modern day standards, is very rough, and
30 in some ways inadequate. However, people learned to

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 use it ~~to read it and write it~~ and he had a number of people
2 to help him over the course of ^{about forty} years. They did an
3 entire Bible translation, an entire Bible translation,
4 which in spite of its orthographic peculiarities, is a
5 beautiful piece of work. The passages that I've
6 studied with some of the old people in McPherson
7 manage to capture some of even the poetry of the King
8 James Version. I mean as a translation, it's an incredible
9 feat. Unfortunately, the alphabet he used, which is
10 understood by the old people, is not necessarily
11 able to be followed by young people. So in fact my
12 transcriptions and my alphabet differ quite considerably
13 from his. However, that tradition led to the translation
14 of the entire Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, the
15 hymns, the hymn book, and bits and pieces of other
16 religious materials. But Jim is very familiar
17 with this work and can read the Bible as well as you
18 or I read English.

19 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, thank
20 you very much. Do you want to add anything, Mr.
21 Sittichinli, to what Mr. Ritter has said?

22 WITNESS SITTICHINLI: Well,
23 like I said, the Peel River, it's the only language
24 that is written down in where I come from. Now as my
25 friend here mentioned, there is Gwichyah gwich'in, Red River
26 people and Teetl'it gwich'in, Peel River, and Van tat gwitch'in, Old
27 Crow. At the time when Archdeacon McDonald was doing the work
28 of translating the language, we had three different
29 dialects, and the Red River people were the main
30 dialect, and that's what our book was translated into,

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Now, I can't pronounce all their words, but to pronounce
2 their words means real words, and that's -- he has --
3 my dad helped with the translation when he was just a
4 young man, he come from Arctic Red River and when
5 Archdeacon McDonald was working to translate the Bible
6 he asked them what this word means, and the people
7 would give their word.

8 "Oh no," he said, "that's not
9 the word."

10 He would give his
11 word, and "Oh no, that's not the right word". Red River
12 would give the word and that sounds more like what it
13 meant. So that's how we got our written language, mostly
14 in the Red River language which pronounced their words
15 very fully and that's how our Bible is written.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you very
17 much, Mr. Sittichinli. Can I just ask you one last
18 question, Mr. Ritter? In the -- there's a paper that
19 is put out in the Eastern Arctic somewhere that is a
20 rendering, I take it, of the Eskimo dialect in the Eastern
21 Arctic in symbols or syllabics I think they're called.
22 That's a technique that Archdeacon McDonald didn't adopt.

23 WITNESS RITTER:
24 A It's a very good thing he
25 didn't.

26 Q Well --

27 A I mean it's hard enough
28 as it is. I would like to say just offhand that you know
29 one of the defining characteristics of Loucheux, in
30 fact Athabaskan generally is an incredible richness of
consonant sounds and I think Loucheux probably takes the

Ritter & Sittichinli
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 trophy in that regard, and there are all sorts of
2 contrasts we don't simply have in English, and although
3 I think syllabics have proved to be useful with certain
4 Eskimo dialects, in Eskimo you have a relatively simple
5 consonant system. However, I think if you tried
6 to adopt that into Loucheux, the results would be
7 pretty horrendous. This is my guess. So I'm glad he
8 stuck with Roman symbols.

9 Q I thought those were
10 Arabic symbols.

11 A Pardon?

12 Q Aren't those Arabic symbols
13 in our alphabet?

14 A It's called Romanized.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Oh, I see.
16 Well, I'd better stop asking questions. Well, thank
17 you both very much and I think we all appreciate this
18 insight that you have given us into the use of these
19 place names by the Loucheux people. So thank you Mr.
20 Ritter and Mr. Sittichinli.

21 (WITNESSES ASIDE)

22 THE COMMISSIONER: I think
23 we'll adjourn for coffee now.

24 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED AT 3 P.M.)
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D.G. Simpson
In Chief

1 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

2 MR. BELL: Mr. Commissioner,
3 I'd like to introduce you to Mr. Donald Simpson, who's
4 our next witness.

5 DONALD SIMPSON, sworn:

6 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL:

7 Q Mr. Simpson, you are the
8 Director of Education Research for the International
9 Development Research Center?

10 A Yes, I am.

11 Q Could you tell us what
12 the International Development Research Center is please?

13 A It's a federally funded
14 body which operates as an International Crown Corporation
15 with an International Board of Directors and an
16 international staff, concerning itself with the problems
17 of development in the Third World.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Funded by
19 the Government of Canada?

20 A Federally funded by the
21 Government of Canada.

22 MR. BELL: Briefly reviewing
23 your education, sir, you have a B.A. from the Western
24 University, a High School Assistant's Certificate from
25 the Ontario College of Education, an M.A. from the
26 University of Western Ontario and a Ph.D. from the
27 University of Western Ontario?

28 A Right.

29 Q From 1957 to 1964, you
30 were a teacher of history and chemistry at Sir Adam Beck

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1 Secondary School.

2 A That's right.

3 Q In London, Ontario?

4 A Yes.

5 Q In 1961, '62 and '64,
6 you were a critic teacher in history at the Ontario
7 College of Education Summer School at London?

8 A Yes.

9 Q From 1965 to the present,
10 you have been an Assistant Professor in the History of
11 Education Department at Althouse College of Education
12 of the University of Western Ontario.

13 A That's correct.

14 Q In 1966 and '67, you
15 were the Chairman of that Department?

16 A Yes.

17 Q From August of 1972 to the
18 present, you've been on leave to the International Develop-
19 ment Research Center?

20 A Yes.

21 Q In 1967 and 1968, you
22 were the Director of the C.U.S.O West Africa Orientation
23 Program and Co-ordinator for West Africa?

24 A That's right.

25 Q You are the Executive
26 Secretary of the Office of International Education at
27 the University of Western Ontario?

28 A Yes.

29 Q From 1960 to 1966, you
30 were the Executive Secretary of the Canadian Committee of

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1 Operation Crossroads , Africa?

2 A Yes.

3 Q From 1960 to 1972, you were
4 a member of the Executive Committee of that organization.

5 A Yes, I was.

6 Q You are a founding member
7 and former President of the London Branch of the
8 African Students Foundation.

9 A Yes.

10 Q From 1962 to 1964, you were
11 a Vice-president of the African Students Foundation
12 National Committee.

13 A Yes.

14 Q In 1969, you were a
15 delegate to the Annual Meeting of the Society for Inter-
16 national Development in New Delhi.

17 A Yes.

18 Q In 1971, you were the
19 Chairman of the NORthern Education Committee at the
20 University of Western Ontario.

21 A Yes.

22 Q From 1970 to 1972, you were
23 the Chairman of the London Board of Education Curriculum
24 Committee.

25 A Yes.

26 Q In 1970 to 1971, you were
27 a member of the board of the Canadian Bureau of Inter-
28 national Education.

29 A Yes, I was.

30 Q You are the organizer and

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1 director of the Cross-Cultural Resource Center at the
2 University of Western Ontario.

3 A Yes.

4 Q From 1974 to the present
5 you've been the Co-Chairman of the Dene Land Claims
6 Southern Support Group.

7 A Yes.

8 Q In addition, you have
9 field experience in various countries in Asia, Africa,
10 the Caribbean and northern Canada.

11 A And Latin America.

12 Q And Latin America. Would
13 you please proceed with your evidence sir?

14 A Mr. Commissioner, I've
15 both heard and read some comments of concern about the
16 interference of non-native southern academics into
17 the affairs of the north, so I guess I sit here with some
18 concern because I can be accused of being all three of
19 those. I also sit with some concern because, having been
20 brought here from London, Ontario I assume that I'm
21 supposed to say something useful in the next half-hour,
22 and yet if I start going off on some wild exaggerations
23 I am sure the learned counsel sitting here will be ready
24 to bring me back down to earth.

25 I guess I feel a little bit
26 as Mike did lying on his death-bed when the priest rushed
27 into administer the Last Rites and said "Well Mike, have
28 you made your peace with God and renounced the Devil?"
29 To which Mike replied "Well, I've made my peace with God
30 but I'm in no position to antagonize anyone".

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With that as an introduction
I will give the comments that I have prepared for today.

In 1960, I first travelled outside North America to live in an African village and to work with the villagers in manual labor as they sought to prepare themselves for independence. Since then, I have returned regularly to live and work in various parts of the Third World as a laborer, a teacher and as an administrator of an aid agency.

THE COMMISSIONER:

Q Excuse me. What is an aid --

A By an "aid agency", I mean one of a donor agency supplying funds to a developing country.

Q A-I-D doesn't stand for anything?

A It doesn't stand for any organization, no.

Q I'm sorry.

A It's jargon, sir. Since 1972, I have been working for the International Development Research Center which ^{is} an aid agency, a federally funded agency which concentrates on the problems of development in the Third World.

The agency owes much of its early initiative to Lester B. Pearson who served as the first chairman of its Board of Governors.

My responsibility is for their education research program and in this capacity, I travel regularly to Asia, Africa, Latin America and the

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1 Caribbean.

2 It has always seemed incongruous
3 to me to be flying around the world working on develop-
4 ment issues if I was not at the same time concerned about
5 similar issues in my own country. Indeed, it was through
6 visiting African students in the early '60's that I
7 first came to know the native people of southwestern
8 Ontario. Mention was made of my involvement with the
9 African Students Foundation and the first groups of
10 Africans that we had coming in the early '60's when I
11 asked them what they wanted to do, what they wanted to
12 see, they surprised me by saying they wanted to see an
13 Indian reserve and at that time, I had never been on an
14 Indian reservation and I had to start doing some exploring
15 for myself in my own community.

16 So, it was through these African
17 students that I first came to know the native people of
18 southwestern Ontario and I have worked with some of them
19 ever since. In 1969, as has been mentioned, I founded
20 the Cross-Cultural center at the University of Western
21 Ontario which brings together material and people from
22 around the world and which includes the native resource
23 center directed and staffed by native people.

24 In 1969, I visited the Northwest
25 Territories for the first time when I came to Yellowknife
26 for the Northern Communications Conference and ⁱⁿ 1970, I
27 was in the Keewatin engaged in seminars for settlement
28 managers. Since then, I have been making frequent visits
29 and in 1974 I was asked by the Dene to serve as an unpaid
30

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1 volunteer for them in the south. I wish to stress that
2 I am here on my own time and am making this presentation
3 as private individual and not as a representative of the
4 International Development Research Center.

5 From this introduction, it should
6 be clear that I have never lived in the north for a
7 long period. However, I have been constantly struck by
8 the similarities between some problems both in inter-
9 personal relations and in development work both here in
10 the Canadian north and throughout the former colonial
11 world. My presentation then is not meant to be a thorough
12 analysis of the history and development of the former
13 colonies and the north. Rather, it is mainly a personal
14 account of some experiences in the Third World which may
15 have parallels in the Canadian north and which may help
16 some people to better understand the feelings expressed
17 and positions taken by the native people towards their
18 land and the proposed pipeline.

19 During the past 16 years, I
20 feel I have learned a great deal about colonialism
21 as it has been practised both in Asia and in Aklavik.
22 A good deal of it is the sad story of man's infinite
23 capacity for greed but that is for others to recount.
24 And as part of their case in this section of the Inquiry,
25 the Dene have had people document some of these examples.

26 I would rather concentrate on
27 the efforts of the colonized people to be self-sufficient
28 and the efforts of some members of the dominating group
29 to aid them in their development. In spite of the good
30 intentions of these people, their actions often bred

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1 anger, confusion and disappointment, both within the
2 groups and across the cultural groups. The question is,
3 how does one explain this?

4 (QUALIFICATIONS AND EVIDENCE OF DONALD G. SIMPSON
5 MARKED AS EXHIBIT #606)
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1 Let us look first at the people
2 of the newly independent countries. So many of them
3 lack confidence in themselves. They shied away from their
4 own literature, poetry and drama and continued to teach
5 the European experience. Their history had been
6 denied them and many were afraid to resurrect it. They
7 still behaved as if white man were the expert and could
8 be relied on to make all the best judgments. Well
9 educated as some of these people were, intellectually
10 they were often still dependent on the Europeans

11 Millions of others in these
12 countries, faced from birth with a constant problem of
13 economic survival, had developed a feeling of helplessness
14 and of not belonging, matched with a strong sense of per-
15 sonal unworthiness. I would not wish to suggest that
16 this was the condition everywhere in the former colonial
17 territories, but where it existed it presented difficulties
18 for people in those societies who saw that having a clear
19 sense of identity was a crucial step in improving their
20 lives. Their work was not aided by well-meaning outsiders
21 who came in convinced that the way to progress was to
22 turn all the peoples of the world into a homogeneous mass
23 functioning with western values. In many places, the
24 outside development expert attempted to replace the
25 traditional culture with a western one through the intro-
26 duction of modern technological means, new organizational
27 forms and ^{new} ideological orientations. When some people in
28 these former colonial societies began to suggest that
29 their educational system should grow out of their own
30 culture and out of their own environment, they were

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1 told even by some of their own people that this would
2 be a backward step which would lead them into an intel-
3 lectual ghetto. They would be cutting themselves off
4 from access to the University of London or Harvard or
5 even the University of Western Ontario.

6 A young West Indian girl who
7 graduated from Western University in recent years was
8 viewed as a radical in her home town school when she
9 advocated that each year the children should read at
10 least one West Indian novel. In one classroom I remem-
11 ber visiting, a classroom where the students were dealing
12 with a West Indian novel, I saw a student come to a
13 section where the author had the characters speaking
14 to each other in the local dialect, and the student
15 reading to the class translated the dialect into the
16 Queen's English before reading it aloud, because she had
17 had it drummed into her that all local dialects were
18 inferior.

19 In another country I was asked
20 by the Education Ministry to evaluate an educational
21 proposal put forth by two local teachers whom I knew and
22 admired. I reported favorably on their project and
23 then was asked by the Ministry if I would come and
24 participate in a summer workshop on the topic. I ex-
25 pressed surprise as they had such capable people in their
26 own system. Their answer was that the teachers would
27 pay more attention to my opinion because I was a white
28 expatriate. Here again we are talking about the
29 problems of cultural identity.

30 When I first went to English-

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1 speaking West Africa, these countries thought they had
2 achieved a major success if their complete school system
3 was functioning in English, and in the various countries
4 you would have them comparing each other and say, "Well,
5 we're down to Grade 3 now, and next year we're going
6 to get down to Grade 2." Once they got down to kindergar-
7 ten they thought they had made a very successful system.
8 Yet by the end of the 1960s major problems had begun to
9 arise, in attitude, discipline and dropouts, even in the
10 ability to read English, and today for both pedagogical
11 and cultural reasons the early school years in most of
12 these countries are now carried on in the local language.

13 We often say that we want to
14 treat others as equals. My feeling is that you cannot
15 make a man your equal. You cannot reach across the
16 table, shake his hand and say, "You are my equal."
17 Two of you can only be equals when each of you believes
18 it. If all the standards of excellence are from outside
19 of the child's experience and foreign to his family,
20 then you are putting two strikes against him to begin
21 with. I can think of another case of being in Sierra
22 Leone talking to a group of young children about some
23 progress on airport construction. Their answer was,
24 "It will get done when the whites do it." They obviously
25 felt that there wasn't anyone in Sierra Leone who could
26 do it the way the Europeans could do it.

27 Contrast that with a young boy
28 of perhaps 11 or 12 who guided me around Ibadan, Nigeria,
29 when I first visited there in 1960. This boy belonged
30 to the Yoruba nation -- perhaps I should stress the
word "nation", it's part of the country of Nigeria but

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the groups consider themselves clearly as nations, the Ibo nation, the Hausa nation, the Fulani nation, the Yoruba nation. He belonged to the Yoruba nation, a group who had clung tenaciously to their language, art, poetry and other aspects of their culture. He asked me at the end of my stay there, as I was heading home, how I had enjoyed myself in Nigeria.

I said, "I had a fascinating time but that the amazing thing to me had been how well his people had treated me in spite of the fact that every day in their newspaper they were reading reports on how badly blacks were being treated by whites in North America."

The answer of this young boy to me was, "Well, why shouldn't they? It's not your fault that you were born white instead of black."

Again a sense of attitude, a sense of identity. He was suffering from no feelings of inferiority and the two of us could speak in a sense as equals.

When I first came to Northern Canada the thing that struck me the most was the similarities between problems being expressed here and problems being expressed in the Third World. In the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America great amounts of money were being spent on education, consciously or unconsciously that was aimed at making the Indian children just like white Southern Canadian children. Some native people had a sense of hopelessness and others still had not given up and were seeking ways to retain

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1 or regain their language, their history, their self-
2 respect. So many discussions I had with native people
3 here in the north took me back to the discussions I
4 had with people in Africa or Asia.

5 On the other side where the
6 government administrators, the best of whom were
7 expressing the same kind of frustration of people who
8 engaged in the AID agencies working overseas, comments
9 like, "Well, if the local people were only smarter, would
10 only work harder, then our efforts to help them develop
11 would surely pay off."

12 Besides the common frustrations
13 there were some clear similarities in organization between
14 the Canadian north and the former colonies about which
15 I have been talking. First in economic terms the
16 basic characteristic of most colonial economies is a
17 combination of subsistence food-getting (here in the
18 north being hunting and fishing) with the export of raw
19 materials (furs and minerals). Manufacturing industry
20 is conspicuously absent. One also sees the ethnic
21 division of the population into people of Indian or
22 Inuit descent on the one hand and whites on the other,
23 with the latter holding nearly all the positions which
24 carry power, money and prestige. The parallels in this
25 case with other colonies are obvious.

26 Lastly, the north is colonial
27 in political terms as both the whites and native population
28 would agree, although for somewhat different reasons.
29 The whites argue for a responsible representative
30 government within a provincial framework, while the natives

1 go further and argue against a form of government alien
2 to their own system which they feel is being forced on
3 them.

4 My reason for drawing these
5 rough parallels is to show that while the situation in
6 the north is not exactly the same, as in the former
7 British or French colonies, there are enough similarities
8 to make it quite understandable for the native people
9 to look to the Third World or the developing world for
10 possible solutions, suggestions, and support. To my
11 mind this move is a natural one, and rather than being
12 angered or frightened by it, the Federal and Territorial
13 Governments should see it as a positive step on the
14 part of the native people. Indeed, the government should
15 also realize that some of the problems and frustrations
16 have been the same all the way from India to Inuvik
17 then perhaps there are some lessons for the north which
18 can be gained from the experience of Canadian efforts to
19 assist development in other parts of the world.

20 Let us look for some of those
21 useful insights. The late '50s and early '60s was
22 the beginning of ^{the development of} large aid agencies in the western world
23 to assist the Third World. It was an exhilarating period
24 for those of us interested in international development.

25 For one thing I think at that time we felt to a great
26 extent that we knew how to develop an under-developed
27 country. I think the western world was much more cocky
28 and confident in 1957 than we are now. You may interrupt
29 to ask, "What did we mean by 'development'?"

30 If we were honest with ourselves

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1 in that period we would have said that, "It means as
2 much as possible making their lives like ours."

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1 Development as it is often
2 practised, I would say is one of the politer terms for an
3 age-old process. It is the polite modern form of the
4 process where the people of one culture arrange the
5 affairs of the people of another culture and the arrange-
6 ment is usually done in the former's image. The outsider
7 then, had a mixed bag of intentions, some good, some
8 bad. We wanted them to accept the wage economy, improve
9 their health standards. We wanted to Christianize them.
10 We wanted to educate them. Educate them for what?
11 Well, the cynics would say "Educate them to want the
12 goods and services we had to sell". Educate them, in
13 other words, to become more efficient consumers.

14 There were many who were not
15 cynical however, about the goals of our development work
16 in the Third World in the '60's but many of these people
17 also saw modernization and the development of groups of
18 people as a process mainly dependent on three factors and
19 the three factors are these; economic inputs, manipula-
20 tion of the environment and technological innovations.
21 The implicit assumption appears to have been that given
22 the correct mix of these three variables, the desired
23 human behavioral changes would follow almost automatical-
24 ly.

25 Now, assuming that the eastern
26 or western nations were seriously interested in the
27 economic and social development of the Third World
28 countries and as you've heard from earlier testimony,
29 that's a big assumption to make. But let us assume that
30 they were seriously interested. Let us look at some of

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1 the results of this approach to development. If we want
2 to look at specific projects, it might be useful to
3 look at a dam project, both because dams are very spectac-
4 lar and because we seem to have a great attraction for dams
5 in our development programs that we operate overseas.

6 But the dam project to which
7 I wish to refer is not one in which Canadian aid was
8 involved. I speak of the giant Aswan dam which was to
9 repay its billion dollar cost in two years. It was to
10 double Egypt's national income in ten. It was to save
11 her growing population from starving and serve as a
12 beacon of progress to light the Arab world. What have been
13 the results?

14 The high dam's target was to
15 generate 10 billion kilowatts of electric power a year,
16 reclaim 1.3 million acres of the desert and end the Nile's
17 floods. By 1974 it was still only producing 3.8 billion
18 kilowatts rather than the ten, mainly because only a
19 fraction of the potential power could be used. The other
20 turbines still await the new plants and industries which
21 are for the most part still only vaguely envisioned.

22 Much of the desert soil has
23 proven unsuitable for reclaiming by irrigation. Freed
24 of its silt and sediments, the Nile now flows far more
25 rapidly than it did in the past with its earthen load.
26 Now it undercuts the bases of every bridge along the
27 way, scours out its bed and alters its ancient pattern
28 of flow. To prevent destruction of the three check
29 dam downriver and the 550 bridges spanning it, ten new
30 barrier dams costing a quarter as much as the original dam

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1 will have to built, and soon. Many of the bridges will
2 have to be replaced in any case.

3 One of the most paradozical,
4 bizarre results of the construction of this dam is
5 the need for costly nitrate and phosphate plants, which
6 are now required to make millions of tons of fertilizer
7 to replenish the natural sources that had been presented
8 freely to man by the annual floods of the Nile.

9 The Nile's load of sediments
10 is gone. So are the crustaceans and the fish that fed
11 on them and supported in turn a major fishery for Egypt,
12 18,000 tons a year of invaluable fish protien.

13 The reduced total flow of water
14 means reduced ground water. This will have an increasing
15 affect on the amounts of salt that accumulates in the
16 soil. The result is saltation and it's a bane to
17 farmers living near the sea or using desert soils and
18 Egypt has both of these. In Wadi Hifa, a city of 75,000
19 and chief settlement of the northern Sudan, the people
20 were asked, lectured, then ordered to leave their
21 ancient city for agricultural wealth in a happy new
22 farm community. They left at gunpoint only to sneak
23 back after the saw, as their leaders had prophesied that
24 the lake would not reach its planned height.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me
26 Dr. Simpson, that's the lake behind the dam?

27 A That's right.

28 Q Lake Nasser is it?

29 A Yes, it is.

30 Q That extends back into the

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1 Sudan.

2 A It extends to the Sudan
3 and has not gone up nearly as far as they had anticipated.

4 But the society and social
5 fabric, poor as it was, has been torn and disrupted.
6 Today, these people are scattered and demoralized,
7 lives uprooted, half resettled, half refugees in
8 their own homes.

9 There are other impacts equally
10 severe, disease for example. Bilharzie, a snail borne
11 disease, is the modern plague of Egypt. It had been
12 removed and people had felt that this disease was no
13 longer existent, but no longer did the desert begin to
14 receive water from the newly impounded Lake Nasser than
15 snails followed, became infected from human sources and
16 bilharzia was re-established once again in Egypt.

17 My point is not to suggest that
18 there have been no positive results from the dam. Obvious-
19 ly, there have been. Nor to blame any one group of
20 outsiders for the problems. Rather, I wish to point out
21 the results of a thought process and I emphasize "a
22 thought process", that feel that large scale development
23 can solve most of our problems. Most of the ecological
24 and human disasters I have listed had been anticipated
25 usually by specialists in areas such as anthropology,
26 sociology, soil science, epidemiology, public health or
27 by the ecological generalist. But as Donald Heyneman wrote
28 in the magazine "Science Forum",

29 None of these scientists or advisers had the strength
30 or the influence to be heard at governmental or

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1 policy levels. Meanwhile, we all watch with
2 paralysed horror while the integrating forces of
3 human society in Africa and elsewhere come apart
4 in the face of single-tracked ramrod solutions that
5 erode, then erase our environment."

6 Q Excuse me Dr. Simpson,
7 who is Donald Heyneman?

8 A He's a science writer for
9 the United Nations.

10 In other cases, new dams dis-
11 placed fishermen and tried to turn them into farmers
12 overnight without success and I could talk if any of
13 you were interested in further details because I spent a year
14 visiting some of those villages and watching the frantic
15 attempts to handle these people who had been uprooted
16 from their life as fishermen and pushed into a farming
17 community.

18 Q We're no longer in Egypt?

19 A No, these are other
20 examples. This particular one is the dam that Canada
21 was involved in, the Volta dam in Ghana, built particular-
22 ly to give Kaiser Aluminium enough power to run its plants.

23 Yet another example, the people
24 who were supposedly to benefit from a dam were flooded
25 from their lands and forced to move to the cities where
26 they remained a marginal group and added to the staggering
27 urban problems.

28 So often one of the advantages
29 of these projects is supposed the jobs they will provide
30 for the local people. They are enticed out of their

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1 villages to work on these major projects. With all the
2 capital equipment the project is now finished in record
3 time and the outsider and his technology moves away,
4 often leaving the people who have been torn from their
5 subsistence life partially trained in some little skill
6 area and left with nothing to do.

7 Let me quote from a recent
8 letter sent to me by a United Nations official in which
9 he gives yet another example of a development project
10 that ignores the impact of a large project on the local
11 inhabitants and I quote:

12 "The usual tender loving care was devoted to such
13 questions as dam location, structure, size, capa-
14 city in cubic meters of water and megawattage,
15 generator types, phasing in, electricity market,
16 etc. But one aspect is only now coming to light
17 after approval of the scheme. 1200 Amerindian
18 families will be displaced by the reservoir. Hope-
19 fully, there is time to plan with them for the new
20 kind of life they can have but as usual, the human
21 planning has to catch up with the physical, technical,
22 economic planning."

23 Now if this has happened in so
24 many other countries then it seems wise for the native
25 people to be very wary of large scale development projects
26 which are touted as being a solution to their future
27 financial worries. Large scale resource development
28 projects may not be the panacea they are often described
29 to be. Are they the only form of development viable in
30 the north? Are there alternative forms of development that

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1 could be viable and more useful to the native people?
2 The multi-national companies which are involved in
3 large scale development projects in the Third World or
4 in northern Canada are concerned with maximum profits
5 and for the most part, do not usually enjoy suggestions
6 of alternative forms of development which suggests a
7 slower rate or smaller scale. Developers have been slow
8 in include local people in their project planning.

You might ask "Am I picturing all the people involved in these development decisions as villains?" Not at all. Although some are operating clearly without concern for the local society, we should acknowledge the many people in government service, in corporations or in the international AID agencies that pursue their work with good intentions. Why is it then that they hesitate to listen to the local people when they describe how they would solve a problem. Good white people have behaved this way -- again, I would say in communities all the way from Nigeria to Norman Wells. Let us examine the forces at work here for it would appear that our concepts of development can have some close relationship to the cultural group to which we belong. The problem is that too often we do not really accept this as the basis for our disagreement.

The settlement manager in the Canadian north who is having difficulty moving ahead with a development programme for the community may find himself asking the question, "Is it the community's fault or is it my fault that things are not working?" Unless he is a masochist it seems to me he is likely to eventually conclude that it is the fault of the people in the community. In his mind, he feels if only they were more energetic, interested and intelligent his projects would be working. Is he prepared to face the fact that the development goals and the methods to reach them which seem reasonable to him may in fact not be reasonable to somebody of another culture?

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Melville Herskovits, the
 noted anthropologist has said that "our models of
 development take for granted the universality of
 psychological and social responses -- the universality
 of psychological and social responses, which when
 comparatively and historically considered are found
 to characterize the pecuniary societies of Europe and
 America to a degree not found outside of these cultures."
 In other words, the universality is really not there,
 although most of our concepts of development assume that
 the universality is there.

Most people the world
 over only really understand some of the aspects of the
 culture in which they are born in. So I would imagine
 some of us, for example, tend to see the world from
 the viewpoint of middle-class, English speaking Canada
 and are influenced largely in our attitudes, decisions
 and behaviour by our own history, our own tradition and
 our own social and economic patterns. Too often we see
 our way of life as being the only logical and correct way.

For many Canadians then,
 the history of the world has been seen from a purely
 western point of view. Global development has been
 interpreted largely as the history of Europe, then North
 America, with events in other areas too often explained
 purely in terms of their significance to Europeans or North
 Americans. The illusion has been created that world
 history can best be interpreted in terms of the western
 experience, that this western interpretation is sufficient
 if not wholly exhaustive, and that our resulting value

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1 system embraces everything that really matters.

2 To digress from the paper
3 just for a moment, working this past week with a group
4 of teachers in Ontario on this issue. We've taken a
5 book where we've asked people in different cultures to
6 write the dates, the outstanding dates in world history
7 and it is fascinating to watch what the Arabs write as
8 compared to what the Frenchmen write, as compared to what
9 the American writes. I assume that if you were to ask
10 people in this area to write the important dates in
11 world history you again would get a significantly different
12 list. Yet, we go on teaching. We go on operating as if
13 we all agree what the significant events in world
14 history have been.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: You challenge
16 the notion that history is what has happened to us and
17 I understand that. Do you recall reading a few years
18 ago an article by, I think his name is Hugh Trevor-Roper
19 about the last days of Hitler, I think he is a
20 distinguished English historian.

21 A That's right.

22 Q He supported that notion
23 that nothing that had occurred in countries of an oral
24 tradition really did matter, that it was the impingement
25 on the west, of the west on the rest of the world that
26 really constituted the main thread of history and that
27 people in the west shouldn't be apologizing for adopting
28 that point of view. Let me just ask you two things. I
29 don't know whether you are familiar with that article but
30 is that a point of view that is -- you're a historian, I

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1 take it?

2 A Right.

3 Q Is that a point of view
4 that is widely held by historians?

5 A I think it is very widely
6 held by historians and I don't attack the point of view
7 that says, you know, really what I would say is history
8 is the interpretation of the world as we've agreed upon
9 it at the moment in our society. But then to go from
10 that step to assume that that is the interpretation of
11 the whole world, to make history a pure science in that
12 sense to me is a major mistake. And it is only recently
13 that the African historians have been able to fight back
14 valiantly and get us to realize the cultures that existed
15 you know, in pre-European times in Western Sahara, the
16 Fulani Empires and the great learning that went
17 on there, the great art work but it was passed on by
18 an oral tradition so it was not something that we would
19 pick up. It was not part of our approach. It didn't
20 explain our idiosyncracies; therefore, it is not what
21 we write about in our history books.

22 Q I understand that and
23 I understand the thrust of your paper and I'm sure
24 everyone here regards it as important to consider the
25 position you take. I remember at the time being rather
26 surprised that Trevor-Roper would be as adamant on
27 that question as he was. He suggested that the impingement
28 of the west on these other peoples was a most significant
29 event in their history too and if they didn't know
30 it and treat it as such, they should. However, you carry
on. Don't let me interrupt.

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1 A I would challenge that
2 point and but only the future will tell us whether he
3 was right or others who challenge him are right because
4 the period of the western impingement on that society is
5 a very brief span when you look at the whole history
6 of their society.

7 In recent years I found
8 that more and more efforts are being made to build
9 bridges across cultures and to show people within them
10 that illusions of racial and intellectual superiority
11 are the product of ignorance, naivete or propaganda. In
12 cross-cultural education, a culture is seen basically as
13 an adaptive mechanism. It is the way in which people have
14 adapted to their own particular conditions in order to
15 survive.

16 The many conditions involved --
17 social, economic, physical, etc. have obviously varied
18 greatly from one society to another. The cultures which
19 people have developed therefore also take many
20 forms. Customs which may seem strange to some Canadians
21 nevertheless make very good sense to the people who use
22 them. They are, in fact, viable alternatives to the ones
23 we use ourselves.

24 A number of years ago I
25 attended a conference discussing international AID held
26 at the University of Calgary and for two days the so-called
27 experts from North America kept telling each other
28 what should be done, where it should be done and how.
29 Finally at one point in the discussion, a gentleman in
30 the audience rose and asked if we would define our terms

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1 more carefully. Indicating that he was a biologist he
2 explained that in his field the initials AID, AID, stood
3 for artificial insemination by donor. He wanted to know
4 if that was what we were talking about. Well, we all had
5 a good laugh but the more we thought about it the more
6 we began to wonder if indeed that was actually what we
7 were talking about. That in so many of our AID programmes,
8 we were talking about artificial insemination by donor.

9 The more we struggled with
10 these issues, the more we realized that a forced approach
11 to development had not worked very well around the
12 world. The change towards a different lifestyle for
13 greater well-being and dignity cannot in the long run
14 be imposed upon people unless that is, you want to run
15 an absolutely authoritarian government. No matter how
16 polite and sincere the outsider may be, development
17 policies and forms of organization cannot be imposed from
18 outside -- can be introduced; yes, imposed, no. I am
19 convinced that the real dynamic for change has to come
20 from within, and ideas from outside when they are
21 recommended insistently against local wishes, will usually
22 acquire a bad image and become unpopular no matter how
23 constructive and positive the idea indeed may be.

24 Packaged programmes of development, educational aid, and
25 welfare organized outside the community are an incomplete
26 and sometimes irrelevant solution.

27 Jim Lotz in his book,
28 "Northern Realities" writing of the differences between
29 traditional life throughout the world and the life and
30 values of the white western society says:

"Western man seeks money, traditional man seeks to live in harmony with his fellow and nature. Western man exceeds limits, traditional man stays within them. Western man is thing orientated, traditional man is people orientated."

Now, if you don't read that carefully or if you don't go back to Lotz's book, someone might get very negative response towards that kind of comment. And say it's simplistic. Lotz's descriptions are obviously the extremities in each case but his point is "that both approaches simplified in that quotation from a millionways of being human have validity. But the predominance of western ideas and western models in recent years seem to have blinded some of us to the existence of alternative ways."

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1 I have been talking a great
2 deal about some of the problems faced by AID agencies
3 in assisting development projects in the Third World.
4 I should also note that the concerned people in these
5 agencies have learned from their mistakes. The past
6 16 years have seen radical changes in the way in which
7 international donor agencies work with developing
8 countries. Much more responsibility for decision-
9 making on development projects have been put into the
10 hands of the recipients. New strategies for assisting
11 in development have been worked out. IDRC, the
12 agency for which I work, is an example of this new
13 strategy. The money comes entirely from the Federal
14 Government and yet it's run by a Board of Governors
15 that is drawn from around the world.

16 Rather than pour in Canadians,
17 our agency has thrown our support behind intelligent
18 Third World people who are working out new directions
19 for their own society. We accept the idea that they
20 should be allowed to learn by making some of their own
21 mistakes instead of outsiders make the mistakes for them.

22 In case you picture this
23 relationship as a docile one in which the donor gives
24 the money and the recipient of the AID is left alone,
25 the reality is quite to the contrary. The recipient
26 having undertaken to pursue some development work engages
27 in strenuous and frank discussions with outsiders
28 because if we give up the concept that we know what is
29 best for someone else's life, then we move towards a
30 discussion between equals.

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What relationship does this have to the native people in Northern Canada? The question I'm asking as an outsider is in our misguided but well-meaning enthusiasm, have some of us been involved in artificial insemination by donor? Have some of our relationships with the native people been a colonial style relationship, or at least similar to the work of the AID agencies in the early days of the post-colonial period? If the Canadian Government has worked out new strategies for AID relationships with the Third World countries, which give those countries a major say in the relationship, should we not be ready to work out new approaches for allowing the native people to have a major influence on the course of future development in their society?

What new strategies can be developed which give them greater control over their own future? If our experience elsewhere tells us anything, it is that little can be done unless they have a high sense of their own worth, of a feeling of esteem for their own history, language and all that goes to make up their culture.

No native person I know would argue that all is well within the native communities in the north today. Too many of their people are tied to welfare, weakened by alcohol, and without a clear sense of direction. Many are part of/some people would describe as "the culture of poverty". Oscar Lewis has written:

"People with the culture of poverty have little

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1 sense of history. They are a marginal people
2 who do not believe they can influence the
3 events around them to improve their life."

4 For natives then who are in
5 this situation, their sense of dependency must end before
6 things are likely to improve much. If you agree with
7 this reasoning, then perhaps it is clearer why the
8 work of native associations such as COPE, the Brother-
9 hood, Inuit Tapirisat, and the Metis Association are
10 essential. Items like the Dene Declaration might be
11 welcomed rather than feared because they deal with this
12 sense of identity and self-worth.

13 If you don't understand their
14 expressions of what the land means to them, try reading
15 some of the works of people from the Third World --
16 Jomo Kenyatta, the head of state of Kenya, who is a
17 scholar in his own right, in his own book,

18 "Facing Mount Kenya,"
19 gives an eloquent description of the Gikuyu people's
20 ties with the land. He writes, and I quote:

21 "The Gikuyu people depend entirely on the
22 land. It supplies them with the material needs
23 of life, through which spiritual and mental
24 contentment is achieved. Communion with the
25 ancestral spirits is perpetuated through con-
26 tact with the soil in which the ancestors of the
27 tribe lie buried. The soil feeds the child through
28 lifetime; and again after death it is the soil that
29 nurses the spirit of the dead for eternity.

30 Among the Gikuyu the soil is especially honored,

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1 an everlasting oath is to swear by the earth."

2 What Kenyatta is describing
3 is a mixed form of individual and collective ownership
4 in which,

5 "...it was a man's pride to own a property
6 and his enjoyment to allow collective use of
7 such a property."

8 These concepts the British either did not understand
9 or refused to recognize, and it cost them a bloody
10 guerrilla war before they accepted it.

11 In these comments obviously I
12 am aiming my words at those non-native people in the
13 north who sincerely wish to do what is best for the
14 native people, but may have been culturally blind as to
15 what the viable options are. Their reaction should be
16 no surprise, as our school system and many other elements
17 of our society have led us to believe the European
18 culture and its offshoots are the most important, if
19 not the only culture to which one needs exposure in
20 order to become civilized.

21 We often leave our students
22 with the impression that everything we do in North
23 America is done on the basis of rational, logical thought.
24 It should not be surprising then that graduates of this
25 system, when forced to deal with people whose behavioural
26 response to any given situation is different than their
27 own, often see these behavioural responses as inferior
28 and as "good Canadians" they set out to teach these
29 people the correct behavioural responses.

30 Some have charged that the

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1 Canadian whites are racist in their reaction towards
2 native people. Such charges always are inflammatory and
3 aggravate many well-meaning whites. Most of us would
4 acknowledge that there will be a minority in the white
5 society who are bigotted towards other non-white groups
6 but on a broad scale, are the charges valid?

7 Let me recount an experience
8 in 1971 in Trinidad where a number of Black Power
9 advocates were pushing me rather hard about the racist
10 society in which I live. My answer to these Black Power
11 militants was to say that if they had said this to me
12 back in 1959 when I was first getting involved in inter-
13 national work, I probably would have said that I was
14 sorry that they had had some bad personal experience,
15 that had warped their point of view, for Canadians
16 were not really like that. Now, however, in 1971 I was
17 much more prepared to accept their description of our
18 society as being a racist society, if we could talk a
19 little more about what they mean by "racism". For to
20 my mind the majority of Canadians whom they were
21 attacking as racist would be honestly shocked to be
22 so described. In fact, they would likely argue saying
23 something like the following:

24 "Why I'm so lacking in prejudice that I'm
25 prepared to spend my time, money, and energy to
26 help you become like me."

27 And it's this unconscious sense of superiority, if we
28 acknowledge this as being racism, then I would acknowledge
29 that I live in a racist society and it's this type of
30 racism which becomes institutionalized so easily because

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1 it is unconscious.

2 One night in recent years I
3 had a meeting with a group of whites, many of whom lived
4 in the north, many of whom live very nearby. One made
5 acuastic remark about the lazy Indians at the Brotherhood
6 ripping off the public. I pushed them hard to define
7 their charges. It eventually became clear that what they
8 were saying was that there was now a group of Indians
9 who no longer came to them for aid, for handouts or
10 advice, a group who were prepared to make vigorous
11 moves on issues that could influence the development
12 of the north, and who were building a political force
13 based in the communities which could give the natives
14 power which would cause others to listen to their requests
15 In other words, I said to this group of whites, they are
16 starting to do exactly as what in the past you criticized
17 them for not doing. They are beginning to stand on their
18 own feet. Their independence, however, I noted, was
19 causing these good people uneasiness. Well, at the end
20 of our heated discussion, many of my friends were honest
21 enough to acknowledge that perhaps they had let their
22 vague uneasiness about the natives having a major say in
23 northern development to move them to make intemperate
24 remarks that had little or no foundation.

25 The original negative reaction
26 of these whites is not surprising, for it has occurred
27 around the world whenever different cultural groups begin
28 to interact in a meaningful way.
29
30

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1 To my mind one of the important
2 things to be learned from the international experience
3 is that that is what is happening. People don't have to
4 get frustrated or feel that there's something wrong
5 with them, that they haven't known how to interact with
6 the native people or they've handled it badly, because
7 that kind of uneasiness, that kind of tension has
8 existed wherever cultural groups have come together and
9 started to react in a meaningful way.

10 Eloquent statements have been
11 made by some native people about the importance to them
12 of the land, the hunt, the consensus process, and of
13 working according to the schedule of nature. The reaction
14 of many whites to me at least, the reaction of many
15 whites goes something like this.

16 "Well, I sympathize with the native people and
17 in many ways I envy the type of life they are
18 describing. But things will change, whether
19 they like it or not. Modernization will come
20 whether they like it or not. Indeed the natives
21 have already reached out for the fruits of
22 modernization in the north, such as airplanes,
23 heated wooden homes, snowmobiles. Do you
24 expect me to believe that they wish to give
25 these up now?"

26 Well, these kinds of comments
27 raise interesting questions, some of which have been
28 answered in an interesting article by Peter Berger,
29 entitled ironically enough,

30 "The Liberal as the Fall Guy."

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1 Berger is a sociologist whose primary focus of interest
2 has been the Third World. He draws attention to a
3 phenomena which has received little attention, namely
4 that there is in the contemporary world a very curious
5 co-presence of a modernizing'and a demodernizing process.

6 He notes that although all
7 Third World countries hold out as a goal their desire
8 to modernize, these same people also exhibit resistances
9 to development. What is most interesting is that these
10 resistances which he calls demodernization, increase
11 rather than decrease as so-called development in these
12 countries progresses. The process is not limited to
13 the Third World. In recent years we have seen the forces
14 of modernity and counter-modernity co-exist and conflict
15 in a variety of cultural situations including most of
16 the urban centres of North America.

17 A discussion of what we mean
18 by "modernity" could be an endless one, but whatever else
19 it may be, it is rooted in the transformation of human
20 life brought about by the technology of the last few
21 centuries. Thus concern about the implication of
22 technological inputs in northern development is a valid
23 concern of the native people. It transcends the
24 issue of whether or not one pipeline is built and is
25 another element central to their having some control over
26 their lives.

27 Because of the growing uneasin-
28 ess about the form, rate and scale of development work
29 concern about types of technology and the methods for
30 introducing them has become a crucial issue to millions

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1 of people and to many governments. The International
2 Development Research Centre has supported a network of
3 Third World researchers examining aspects of this
4 question. In the University of Sussex, England, has a
5 science policy research unit which focuses on the issue
6 of technology transfer for development throughout the
7 world, you may be interested in the reactions I received
8 when I raised with some of these people the concern of
9 northern natives over the nature of development. They
10 saw immediate similarities with the situation in the
11 Third World. They described the mathematical models
12 which were used in the mid-'60s which led to the
13 celebrated figures of 98% of the world's research and
14 development being done in developed countries, of which
15 precious little was in the interests of the developing
16 countries. Of the remaining 2%, a large proportion
17 was also found to be more or less irrelevant to the needs
18 of Third World people.

19 This has led in recent years
20 to a substantial switch in the amounts of technological
21 research and development which has been put into the
22 hands of Third World countries , and this trend is
23 likely to continue in the wake of the debates about a
24 new economical international order.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
26 I'm not quite with you. You say "this has led in recent
27 years to a substantial switch in the amount of technolo-
28 gical research and development which has been put into the
29 hands of Third World countries." You mean for instance
30 research into new strains of agricultural products and

1 so on, is put in their hands and carried out say in
2 Lusaka or some place like that, or in Delhi rather than
3 in Moscow or Calgary or Nebraska.

4 A It ranges all the way
5 from research on specific elements, as you described,
6 a new form of rice or a new form of wheat, to research
7 on how do you introduce that into society? How does
8 the society begin to utilize the results of new research?
9 So it isn't just research, I'm producing a new product.
10 What we found in the last half-dozen years is a great
11 deal of emphasis on the fact of saying, "We must develop
12 the research capabilities within the developing countries,"
13 not making the suggestion that exclusively everything
14 is going to be done in developed countries that relates
15 to it. But you have to have people in the developed
16 countries with an understanding of the research and
17 development of technology so even if they're going to
18 take some technology that was developed in Nebraska,
19 they have a comprehension of what some of the implications
20 are in their own country.

21 Q This shift in attitudes
22 on the part of developing countries toward -- excuse me
23 -- on the part of developed countries, toward so-called
24 developing countries, it's a shift that you say is
25 reflected in the composition of the Board of Directors
26 of your own organization, for instance. Is that the
27 other centre of technology, apart from the countries
28 that say belong to NATO or so on, is the countries
29 of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and they have
30 had, I take it, their own largely independent programs of

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1 assistance to these countries. Do they -- have they
2 undergone a similar shift, or are they still thinking
3 in terms of the philosophy that we had in the '60s?

4 A Well, if you take a country
5 like China, for instance, it's interesting that China
6 is probably the only country I can think of in the
7 world that doesn't try to get involved in educational
8 aid, and I scratch my head every once in a while and
9 say, "What does that tell me?"

10 They are prepared to relate
11 with a number of countries, but they don't try to
12 export their concept of education.

13 Q Well, yes, I understand
14 the point you're making. I wasn't thinking of China
15 because no one regards China as an industrial giant
16 exporting technology to the rest of the world, at least
17 I don't suppose anyone does. But what about the
18 Russians? You mentioned the Aswan Dam, which was
19 their contribution to the developing world, and you
20 say it has been a mixed blessing. The Russians or the
21 countries of Eastern Europe probably are more highly
22 developed than Russia itself. Have they had a shift in
23 attitude in the same way as say Canada has had a shift
24 in attitude?

25 A I would say they're
26 moving more slowly. They're starting to send their
27 scientists more often to the gatherings. They're starting
28 to join the network and what those people are expressing
29 at the gatherings are in sympathy with what I've just
30 expressed here. But I haven't seen as many tangible

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1 results of the shift. In other words, we're not getting
2 into a real dychnomy at the meeting where the Eastern
3 Europeans and the Russians are saying, "No way."

4 But I still don't see the
5 evidence. I can't -- perhaps others could but I can't
6 pull a great host of examples where I could say to you,
7 "Well, here's where the Russians have done things that
8 indicate this, " where I could give you numerous
9 examples that indicate that not only our own organization
10 but the World Bank, the U.N. organization, the U.S. Aid,
11 the Ford Foundation, the French Government, particularly
12 the SwedishGovernment have moved substantially in this
13 direction.

14 Q Sorry, carry on.

15 A The last comment I made
16 was that the trend is likely to continue between the
17 wake of the debates about a new international economic
18 order. I have not explained that and if there are people
19 who are not clear what I am referring to in the new
20 international economic order, I'd be happy to elaborate
21 it later; but it is a specific term relating to events
22 that are taking place and ^{in fact} reaching a culmination next
23 week.

24 There are models then that
25 could be used to give us rough figures of the total amount
26 of technology development that is done for native
27 Canadians each year. I am suggesting here that
28 you could take the model that we use for looking at how
29 much technology development was really done to assist
30 Third World countries, and you could apply it to natives

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1 in Canada; I'm not arguing for that, I'm just saying
2 there is a model that could be used. My guess is that
3 they would show that although large amounts of money
4 have been spent on the native people, much of it has
5 been on welfare and little of it in the area of techno-
6 logical research and development in their interests.
7 The second line of thought is that this disproportionate
8 allocation is not something which began happening last
9 year. Thus one could say there is a Canadian technologi-
10 cal debt to the native people, which has been accumulating
11 for as many years as one might wish to pick. In addition
12 one could argue the case in principle for positive
13 discriminatory resource allocation in the technology
14 area based on the concept that Canada's responsibility
15 to the native people is analogous to our responsibility
16 to the people of the Third World.

17 I'll put a number of arguments
18 there together, but if we were to follow those through
19 and we were to put some figures on these thoughts,
20 we might end up with a large figure which perhaps
21 could be thought of as a capital endowment fund, the
22 use of which could be put at the disposal of the native
23 people to enable them to develop the technological
24 power and capabilities that they need to handle future
25 revenues and development decisions.

26 You may say that all this has
27 been far too vague to have any impact. The point I
28 am making is that this is the procedure that has been
29 followed by Third World peoples in their relationship
30 with developed world, including Canada. It started with

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1 a plea, which became a cry of anger, and eventually
2 became embodied in the detailed bargaining under way now
3 in the various committees dealing with the request for
4 a new international economic order.
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1 The world is paying attention
2 to that. Ten years ago, they were ignoring it. When
3 I lived in west Africa, the Canadian politicians were
4 dismissing it as nothing. NOW, there's a great many
5 hours of some senior people in the Canadian Government
6 being spent on this issue. The evolution has taken time
7 from this general plea that we should have control,
8 "we" being the former colonial people.

9 Let me return then to the
10 comments of those involved in technological development
11 in Third World countries. They argue against technologic-
12 al determinism, making the case that the variability
13 and available technological techniques and the variabili-
14 ty in the rate and direction of accumulation are greater
15 than was earlier imagined. They also stress that even
16 after a group of people have gained some control over
17 the development of technology for their purposes and have
18 some control over the development of their capacity to
19 handle the technology, the crucial item that remains is
20 who has control over what development techniques actually
21 are used in the society.

22 Thus, we arrive at the point
23 of worrying about native control over what is actually
24 used as the technical basis of the productive and other
25 activities which impinge upon their society. What
26 are the constraints on being able to exercise this
27 control? The core of this, but obviously not its totality
28 is centered on control over those investments which
29 impinge on and interact with the structure of their own
30 society. If they do not control those, they do not

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1 control the technical configuration of those investments
2 and if they do not control that, they do not control a
3 large proportion of the conditions which determine the
4 nature of their society and if they do not control that
5 proportion, they probably might as well just forget about
6 all the other things they might do to preserve and
7 develop their own social and cultural identity and
8 integrity. My sense is that many native people have
9 learned this lesson very clearly and are now acting
10 on the basis of this knowledge.

11 At this point, we have risen
12 above the frustrating and often pointless arguments
13 about the details of technology, about paternalistic
14 judgements that second class citizens need second class
15 technology or about how unrealistic it is to argue for
16 total massive changes and differences in technology. It
17 may well be that the native people want first-class
18 technology, the same products as everyone else and only
19 a few technical things done differently. The argument,
20 it seems to me then is not at that level but about giving
21 them the power to control things so that whatever pro-
22 portion of the technical basis of their society they
23 want to be different is different and to accept whatever
24 proportion they want to be the same.

25 A recent Swedish document en-
26 titled "What Now?" concerned with ^{the} new approaches to
27 development which are being pursued in the Third World
28 contains a number of quotes which seem relevant to the
29 northern dilemma.

30 "The primacy of economics is over; long-term

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1 ecological consequences are setting the limits
2 within which the decision maker can operate with
3 different alternatives.

4 The anti-growth school generally favors scenarios
5 with a low energy profile and low material consump-
6 tion. Emphasis is put on a more elaborate, direct
7 interplay with some Third World countries which
8 want to explore another development. Such strategies
9 are more commonly discussed as deliberate attempts
10 to avoid existing, one-sided western technological
11 fixes which certainly have increased the economic
12 potential of many poor countries in the past but
13 for which a high price has also had to be paid,
14 that is, the disruption of the social fabric for
15 large groups of people without compensating capacity
16 to recreate what has been destroyed.

17 Whether growth is at a high or low rate, its
18 content must be a political concern. The principle
19 that every technological innovation that appears to
20 have a market potential shall be developed at full
21 scale ought to be changed in favor of a more
22 conscious development of innovations to serve human
23 needs."

24 Now, in all the meetings I have
25 had with northern natives, I have not heard them take an
26 absolute stand against northern development. Rather, I
27 heard expressions of concern about who develops it, where
28 it's developed, when, in what ways, and who shares in the
29 benefits. These questions, I suggest, are almost
30 identical with those that have been raised by Third

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1 World people around the globe.

2 Based on developments that have
3 evolved in the Third World in recent years, my closing
4 argument is that there is reason to believe that it's
5 possible to establish a technical basis of Indian
6 productive activity that deals with the following items:

- 7 A. Allows a richer life than that based exclusively on
8 the traditional hunting, trapping, fishing modes of
9 production.
- 10 B. Is consistent with being able to continue to obtain
11 those components of a rich life that have been or
12 perhaps can only be derived from the traditional
13 economic and social basis of their society.
- 14 C. Is consistent with being used, controlled and
15 developed by the native people with the skills and
16 capabilities that they currently have and that they
17 can develop from that basis.
- 18 D. Is compatible with that richer life being defined
19 in the native people's terms.
- 20 E. Allows a life that is richer than that generated by
21 the technical basis of the modes of production that
22 the native people are being asked or forced either
23 to accept within their society or to integrate them-
24 selves with outside their society.
- 25 F. Need not be static but which could evolve and even
26 allow increasing integration with productive activity
27 in the rest of Canada, if, as and when increasing
28 integration of this type were desired by the native
29 people.

30

Returning to the earlier point

D. G. Simpson
In Chief

1 about modernization, one can argue that it has produced
2 an abstract society. The Mexican "Campesino" or peasant
3 experiences this abstraction as an assault on everything
4 he previously took to be reality, including the reality
5 of his very self; a process which Peter Berger explains
6 holds both a promise of liberation and a threat of
7 disorientation and disintegration. The time consciousness
8 of the western world invades the experience of people in
9 Third World countries who are cajoled, compelled and
10 seduced into exchanging their own time consciousness
11 for ours. Most of them detest the process. Similar
12 feelings are ^{expressed} by native people in Canada's north
13 over various issues but recently, most specifically in
14 relation to a deadline for a pipeline decision.

15 On the other hand, there are
16 certain areas of modernization, for example running an
17 airline, where specific technology, formal training and
18 a modern time structure are clearly necessary. Thus, the
19 tension between the two processes continues. Those who
20 think that modernization is an irresistible force in
21 Canada or in the Third World are in for some surprises
22 and disappointments but so are those who think that
23 modernization can simply be junked.

24 The problem is where are the
25 limits? Where in the development of Third World peoples
26 or in the development of native communities of the north
27 can things be done differently from the western model?
28 Where are there alternatives and where are there no
29 alternatives to the western models? What I hear from the
30 native people is a call for time to explore these limits,

D. G. Simpson
In Chief

1 to test the number of approaches and to ensure a variety
2 of options in lifestyle for their people. It is clear
3 that they will not be able to offer a detailed plan
4 immediately for the process they are following is a
5 difficult and lengthy one. Designing alternatives that
6 are in the beginning open-ended, incomplete and politically
7 vague may seem irresponsible but it seems yet more
8 irresponsible to assume the present concept of develop-
9 ment can continue without causing major problems for all
10 concerned.

11 Let me close with a final quote
12 from the Swedish document "What Now?" They say:

13 "Neither socialist, social democratic nor welfare
14 capitalist transformations have been achieved without
15 those seeking greater shares in the system organizing
16 to demand and, if necessary, to enforce their claims.
17 Nor, in the cases of change without total revolution
18 has significant progress been possible without the
19 dominant elements in the system realizing that
20 negotiated change was less damaging to them than
21 confrontation."

22 The native people have begun their
23 organizations, have stated their general principles and
24 have begun the process which will bit by bit put a cover-
25 ing of substance over the skeletal framework which they
26 have constructed for themselves. All of this will take
27 time. That is why I am arguing against forging ahead with
28 large scale resource development, including a pipeline,
29 before these processes have evolved further.

30 This Inquiry is doing a sensitive

D. G. Simpson
In Chief

1 | thorough job in attempting to raise human planning to
2 | the same level of importance as physical, technical and
3 | economic planning and I appreciate having had this
4 | opportunity to add my comments to the evidence.

5 | MR. BELL: Mr. Simpson is now
6 | available for cross-examination.

7 | MR. GOUDGE: I note sir it's
8 | about quarter to five. I wonder --

9 | THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I'm in
10 | your hands. Do you think we should adjourn now?

11 | MR. GOUDGE: It would be
12 | helpful to me sir if we did.

13 | THE COMMISSIONER: Oh, all right.
14 | Let's do that. Well, we'll adjourn till 9:30 and we'll
15 | hear more from you then no doubt, Dr. Simpson.

16 | So, 9:30 A.M.

17 | (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO MAY 4, 1976)

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Vol. 149

AUTHOR

Mackenzie Valley pipeline inquiry:

TITLE

Vol 149

May 3, 1976

DATE DUE

BORROWER'S NAME

22-286

APR - 4 1977

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Vol 149



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